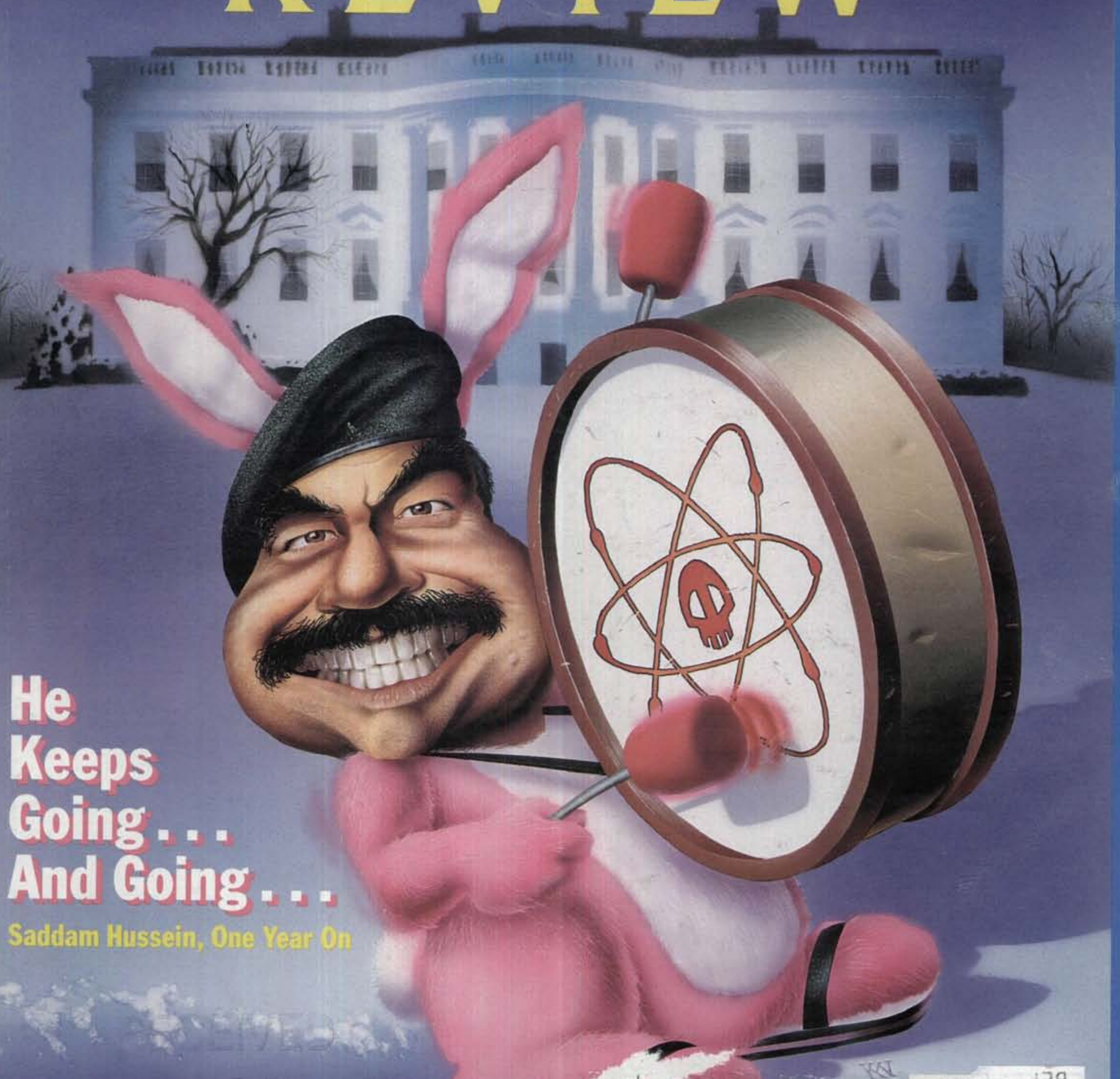
MARCH 16, 1992 49145 $2.95

Vol. 44 No.

Anti-Semitism Revisited: Wm. F. Buckley Jr. and his Critics

TORA!
TORA!
TARIFFS?

NATIONAL REVIEW



He Keeps Going . . . And Going . . .

Saddam Hussein, One Year On

RECEIVED
1992
BALDWIN-WALLACE
RITTER LIBRARY

We have a group
policy that helps cover
long-term care

in the place
elderly people
want it most.

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1992
BALDWIN-WALLACE
RITTER LIBRARY

The Aetna Long Term Care Plan is a policy available through employers that provides a daily benefit either in a nursing facility or at home. It covers care provided by companions or members of the family. It not only helps protect your financial resources, it also helps assure you have a choice you'll feel comfortable with when the time comes to make it. To find out more, please write: Long Term Care, Post Office Box 303, Hartford, CT 06141.

Aetna. A policy to do more. Ætna

© 1991 Aetna Life Insurance Company

NATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH 16, 1992 VOL. XLIV, NO. 5

Cover Story

34 ***Wide Open Secret Coup***
Will President Bush outlast Saddam Hussein? One year after the Mother of All Battles, **Albert Wohlstetter** deems U.S. policy bankrupt on all fronts. Our only plan to improve matters could easily make them worse.

Articles

20 ***On the Scene***
William McGurn sees President Bush, beaten up in New Hampshire, recovering with help from his highly talented campaign team. Not. . . . Why have the Troubles heated up? In Northern Ireland, **Andrew Gimson** looks at the downside of the quest for peace.

30 ***The New Protectionism***
Only trade barriers can save socialism, notes **Irwin M. Stelzer**, for only free trade stops the growth of the state and other lazy corporations. Protectionism saves jobs and industries in the same way that inflation saves salaries.

36 ***Highest Court Cost***
Judicially created rights, **Eugene H. Methvin** shows, have made our prisons worse for society and for the inmates themselves.

38 ***Bankrupted by EPA***
Enforcement of the Clean Water Act is not just merciless, **Peter Samuel** discovers, but mad.

40 ***Mr. Buchanan and His Friends***
After New Hampshire, **John O'Sullivan** considers the demands on conservative leadership.

Anti-Semitism: Chapter II

A Special Supplement, following page 28
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. and a host of critics conclude the re-examination begun in our December 30 issue.

Books, Arts & Manners

41 Though annoyed at the "iconic" trappings, **John Simon** deems the offerings of *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* quite tasty. . . . Some Democrats think Al Gore a fine moderate, but **Ronald Bailey** catches a whiff of the demagogue in *Earth in the Balance*, the senator's environmentalist call to arms. . . . How does American democracy manage to defy classical political theory? **Richard Brookhiser** respectfully dissents from the answers presented by Thomas L. Pangle in *The Ennobling of Democracy*. . . . The crashing mediocrity of Alexandra Ripley's *Scarlett* can only whet the appetite for the charms of the original—which **J. O. Tate** discovers in Darden Asbury Pryon's biography of Margaret Mitchell. . . . When is art like a roller-coaster? At the Museum of Modern Art, **James Gardner** finds the cutting edge lively but less than sharp. . . . Compact-disc technology continues to open the audio past to new listeners: **Ralph de Toledano** samples some classic jazz.

56 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***
It takes all kinds—but try telling a member of the High-Strung Class that, sighs **Florence King**.

Sections

5 ***Letters***
6 ***From the Editor***
8 ***For the Record***
10 ***The Week***
26 help
51 ***Trans-O-Gram***
54 ***On the Right***

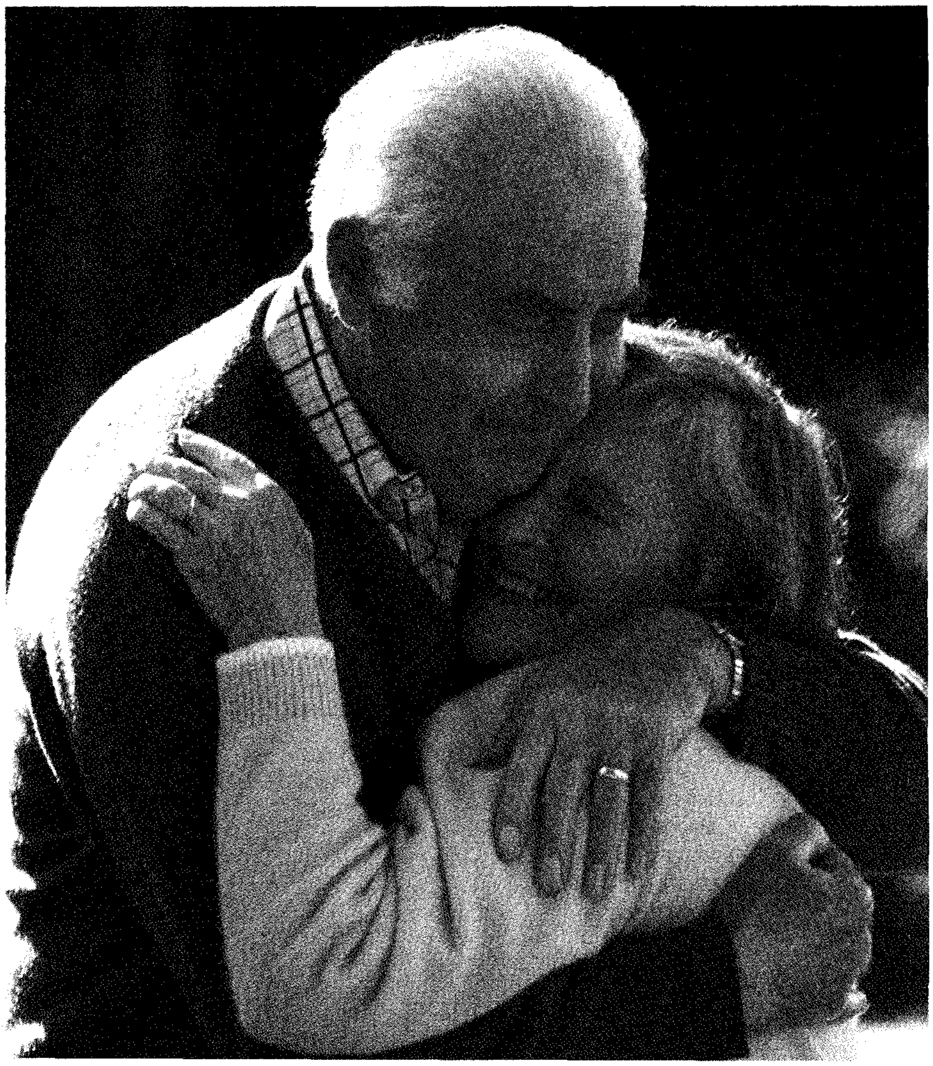
Cover illustration: Ken Westphal

The Audit Bureau

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1992. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20090-6639; phone, (301) 350-7258, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330.

RATES: $57.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

What do we save by keeping heart patients out of operating rooms?



Imagine having to face coronary bypass surgery, then learning you don't need it.

Researchers have concluded that, with many patients, drug therapy can be just as effective as surgery in preventing heart attacks and improving survival. And that not only brings relief to patients and their families, but to the nation's healthcare costs as well.

For while surgery costs over $40,000, outpatient drug therapy can cost as little as $500 per year.

At the forefront of advances like these is the pharmaceutical industry which will invest close to $11 billion dollars in drug research this year alone. While these efforts hold hope for breakthroughs, the process is long and difficult, with only a few of the thousands of compounds developed ever achieving success.

This exhaustive, high risk research increases the industry's cost of doing business, and in turn the price of drugs. But it also contributes to saving and enhancing lives, while reducing health costs as well.

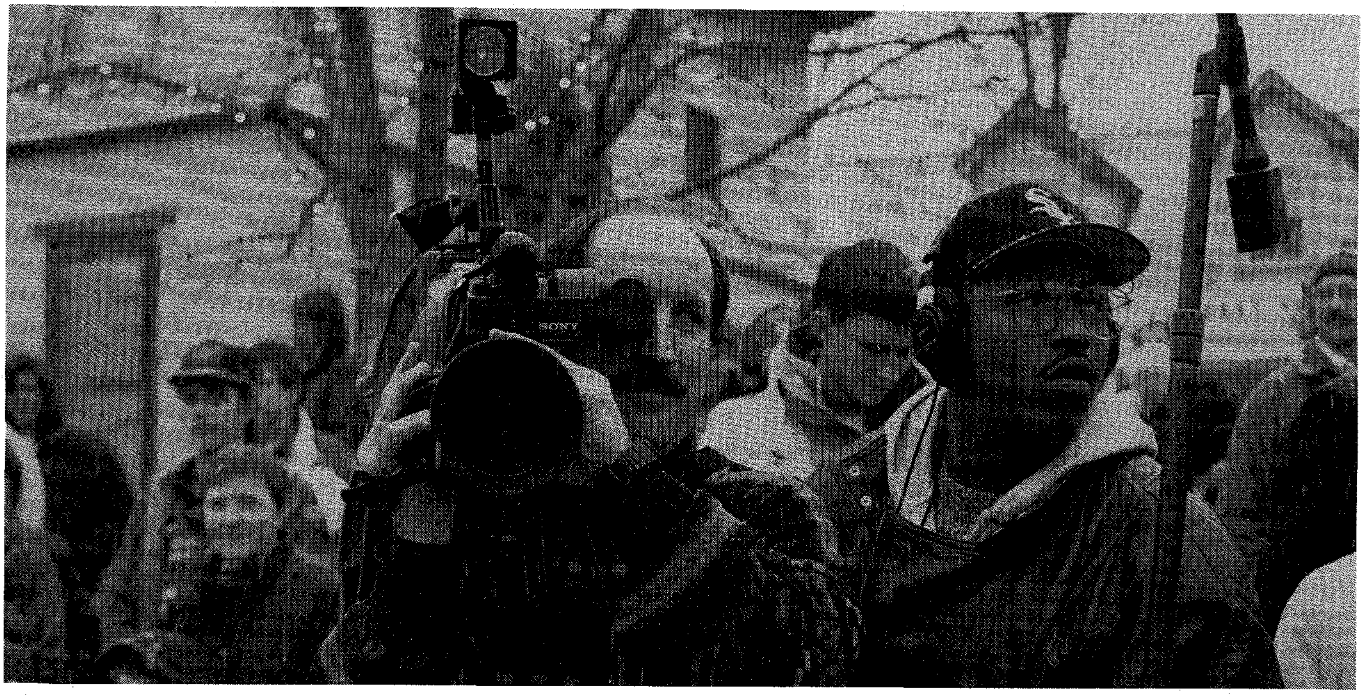
To learn more about pharmaceutical research, and the critical role it plays in health care, call or write for our free booklet, "Good Medicine."

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1100 15th St., N.W., Box Y, Wash., D.C. 20005. 1-800-538-2692.

PHARMACEUTICALS

Good Medicine For
Containing Health Costs.

HOW WE DO WHAT WE DO. ON CABLE TELEVISION'S C-SPAN.



ANYWHERE ELSE, OUR JOB WOULD BE DIFFERENT

GREGG GURSKY AND GARNEY GARY MAKE UP A TWO-PERSON, ONE-CAMERA CREW AND HAVE WORKED AS A TEAM SINCE 1988.

The day started outside a hardware store in Nashua, New Hampshire.

Gregg was shooting, I was running audio, and elbow to elbow we fought for a good camera position. It was crazy. There were photographers and reporters and camera people all over the candidate. And it was only 8:15 am.

We traveled all day — from schoolhouse to Rotary Club to party headquarters — watching the candidate shake hands, kiss babies, smile and wave. But as it got later and colder, the crowds thinned out and the reporters left to find phones and file their stories.

Finally, it was the last stop. We were standing in a small diner, with only the candidate, a few patrons and our camera. It was pure C-SPAN. Local people talking about local concerns. Nothing staged. Nothing set up. While we were shooting, a local reporter popped in for one last unsuccessful attempt at an exclusive interview. As she was walking out the door, she looked over at us, shook her head and said, "Unbelievable. You guys are still at it."

92 ELECTION

C-SPAN

PRIVATELY FUNDED
TO SERVE THE PUBLIC
BY AMERICA'S CABLE
TELEVISION COMPANIES

LETTERS

Dissent on the Right

By the time this letter appears in print, the results of the New Hampshire primary will already be history. Nonetheless, we deeply regret the editorial recommendation of NATIONAL REVIEW that conservatives should vote for Patrick Buchanan ["The Week," Feb. 17]. Our objection is a moral one and has two parts.

First, it is not morally consistent for the editors to recommend that conservatives should vote for Patrick Buchanan, after Wm. F. Buckley Jr., in his courageous dissection of anti-Semitism, publicly admitted that he finds it "impossible to defend Patrick Buchanan from the charge that what he said and did . . . amounted to anti-Semitism, whatever it was that drove him to do or say it."

That recommendation, further, sets a bad moral precedent for the future of American politics and the conservative movement. It opens the door for others to make discriminatory remarks against other Americans and then to protest against any censure on the grounds that "Patrick Buchanan did it—and got away with it." In a country such as ours, it is critical to social peace to keep standards for acceptable public discourse high and universal, binding equally on all with respect to all others. Today's anti-Semitism may be tomorrow's anti-Catholicism or anti-white or anti-black speech.

Moreover, conservatives, defending our civilization's ideals, must defend the highest possible standards for public life. NATIONAL REVIEW has played this important role for decades, even at the expense in recent weeks of egregious attacks upon it from Buchanan supporters.

REMEMBER TO KEEP SAYING TO YOURSELF OVER AND OVER AGAIN...
...THE WORLD NEEDS DENTISTS, THE WORLD NEEDS DENTISTS
Mal

© 1992 Mal Ent., Inc.

We pass over in silence the politics of the editors' recommendation, in order to focus attention on the essential point.

Finally, so as not to be unjust to Patrick Buchanan, we state that we have long admired his basic moral seriousness and his normal concern for fair, if passionate, expression. These make all the less understandable, and more sad, those lapses which Mr. Buckley (and we) find indefensible.

Peter Berger
Walter Berns
Robert H. Bork
Terry Eastland
Patrick Glynn
Michael Joyce
Harvey C. Mansfield Jr.
Richard John Neuhaus
James Nuechterlein
Michael Novak
Thomas L. Pangle
R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.
George Weigel

Neither NATIONAL REVIEW *nor its Editor-at-Large has expressed the view that Patrick Buchanan is an anti-Semite. Indeed,* NATIONAL REVIEW *expressly declared in an editorial ("Fortune Favors the Brave," Dec. 10) that "Mr. Buchanan is* not *anti-Semitic" (emphasis in the original), and Mr. Buckley reached a similar, if nuanced, conclusion in his essay ("In Search of Anti-Semitism," Dec. 30). The charge of inconsistency therefore fails.*

We agree unreservedly that standards of public discourse should be kept high and universal, and for that reason we criticized Mr. Buchanan for behaving mischievously when he alleged that support for the Gulf War was confined to Israel and "its amen corner," that Congress was "Israeli-occupied territory," and so on. We continue to hope that Mr. Buchanan will find it in himself to retract these remarks. As the initial begetter of the controversy, he bears the heaviest responsibility for resolving it.

But Mr. Buchanan cannot alone bear the entire burden of maintaining high standards of public discourse. We would imagine that those who "have long admired his basic moral seriousness" would regret attacks that treat him as a virtual neo-Nazi alongside David Duke, and concede that if he is to deliver apologies, he also deserves to receive some.

NATIONAL REVIEW *and Mr. Buckley are also at one in their advice to the electors of New Hampshire. But let Mr. Buckley speak for himself. Herewith his comments on the letter above:*

My friends Peter Berger et al. are quite incorrect in supposing that I take a different stand from that taken by NATIONAL REVIEW. *I said on two separate television programs shown coast to coast that were I a resident of New Hampshire, I would vote for Buchanan in order to communicate to Mr. Bush the stamina of the protest vote, but that if the contest between the two were not for the nomination but for the Presidency, I would vote for Mr. Bush because of shortcomings I find in Mr. Buchanan's policies. On the matter of anti-Semitism, my conclusion in the essay was as quoted, but the sentence I wrote has been cropped. I wrote that the content of Mr. Buchanan's quoted remarks was indeed anti-Semitic, "whatever it was that drove him to say and do it: most probably, an iconoclastic temperament." In short, I communicated my own private guess that Buchanan is not anti-Semitic.*

But it is as simple as this, that in my judgment Pat Buchanan made statements whose implications are indefensible, and perhaps one day he will agree, pending which, people's feelings about him will be qualified.

Meanwhile, what on earth do the esteemed Dr. Berger et al. mean, "We pass over in silence the politics of the editors' recommendation"? What is going on in New Hampshire is political in nature, and they're not talking about racism in New Hampshire, they're talking about whether they want Mr. Bush to continue in the same direction or in a different direction. For NATIONAL REVIEW *simply to ignore what the voters are being asked to consider in New Hampshire is an act not of moral discrimination, but of moral grandiosity.*

But there is much illumination ahead for the reader, in the supplement published in this issue. —WFB

Short Billions

Geoffrey Morris's article, "Tax, Spend, De-Elect" [Feb. 3], focusing on the tax debacle in New Jersey, contained a factual error. His reference to the savings in federal spending as recommended by the Grace Commission understated the total savings by a factor of 20. I served as a volunteer on that commission. We made over 2,300 recommendations totaling $424.5 billion as possible over three years; no tax increase.

I trust you will not take umbrage with my effort to set the record straight.

Bedford H. Berrey
Midlothian, Va.

NATIONAL
REVIEW

Issue date: March 16, 1992
Print date: February 26, 1992

John O'Sullivan *Editor*

Senior Editors
William J. Bennett / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Paul Hebert *Art Director*
Mark Cunningham *Articles Editor*
Geoffrey Morris *Executive Editor*
Matthew Scully *Associate Literary Editor*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Washington Bureau
William McGurn *Bureau Chief*
Editorial Associates
G. Allen Randolph / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Research Assistants
Russell Jenkins / Frederick W. Campano
Contributing Editors
Wick Allison / Tom Bethell
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Florence King
Richard John Neuhaus / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Timothy J. Wheeler
Joseph Sobran *Critic-at-Large*

William F. Buckley Jr.
President and Editor-at-Large

Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Donald Coxe / John R. Coyne Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Malcolm Hancock
Nika Hazelton / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Jan Lukas / D. Keith Mano
Charles Burton Marshall / Forrest McDonald
Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.
Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*
Business Services
Marc Jellinek / Kevin Longstreet
Derek O'Ferrall / Galina Veygman
Advertising Sales
James J. McCabe *Director*
Suzanne McEntee / Elizabeth Purvis
Direct Response Advertising
Scott Budd
Jack Fowler *Assistant Publisher*
Catherine Moraetis *Assistant to the Publisher*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Virginia L. Bauer *Circulation Director*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Helen Gee Chan *Comptroller*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*

Edward A. Capano *Publisher*

FROM THE EDITOR

First Word, Last Word

■ As well as the special supplement of replies to Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s essay on anti-Semitism, this NATIONAL REVIEW contains a letter from 13 distinguished conservatives attacking our decision to give a tactical endorsement to Patrick Buchanan in New Hampshire; our responses to that letter; our recommendations for later primaries; and several articles on the campaign.

As this menu suggests, conservatives are in a ferment over both Mr. Buchanan's candidacy and the charges of anti-Semitism against him.

Without these charges, his candidacy would have wider conservative support. And if he were not a presidential candidate and potential conservative leader, the charges would be of less moment. But as matters stand, we must say three things plainly:

1. Anti-Semitism is—and should be—a disabling issue in conservative politics. So, also, racism—genuine racism, that is, not the liberal catch-all allegation.

Conservatives have believed since Edmund Burke that there is no way of drawing up an indictment against a whole nation. This century confirms the terrible consequences of doing so. And the entire drift of modern conservative thought is to defend individual rights against ideologies of group privilege and collective action.

So when anti-Semitism appears, we cannot treat it as a minor character flaw or mistaken policy preference, to be tacitly accepted in a candidate or organization otherwise sensible.

There are no trade-offs on this one. As the reply to our conservative critics on page 5 makes clear, we would not have endorsed Mr. Buchanan if we had believed him to be anti-Semitic.

2. Since we did endorse him, it follows we do not consider him anti-Semitic. A similar judgment to my own was expressed, on better first-hand evidence than I can claim, by his *Crossfire* colleague, Michael Kinsley.

He gives three reasons for doubting the charges: Pat Buchanan has warm personal relations with many Jews, which surely counts for something. In his heart he doesn't think he's an anti-Semite; and while it might be possible to be anti-Semitic without knowing it, it must be harder. And his controversial remarks about the Israeli lobby, Nazis, etc., do not hide coarser views; he is frank to a fault.

To which I would only add the speculation that Mr. Buchanan's occasional defense of accused war criminals can be traced to his fear that the KGB was using faked evidence to discredit anti-Communists from the Captive Nations as ex-Nazis and that the Justice Department was taking such Soviet "cooperation" at face value.

That was a reasonable fear and, in the case of Demjanjuk, it has been partly vindicated. But it would take someone of a more judicial temperament than Pat Buchanan to distinguish infallibly between real and fake accusations of Nazism when the KGB was doing the accusing. Thus, Mr. Buchanan has found his one major essay in defending civil liberties used as grounds for suspecting him of fascism.

3. Other conservative leaders must now persuade Mr. Buchanan to apologize to those he has, however unintentionally, offended. Namely, those who have interpreted the sum of his writings as anti-Semitic—wrongly in my view but not without provocation—and those who, while defending him, wonder why he cannot say sincerely what a cynical racist like David Duke has no trouble in counterfeiting.

His intransigence is understandable. He has been under savage attack. And like the New York cops in *Bonfire of the Vanities*, he never retreats before a mob, even a genteel one.

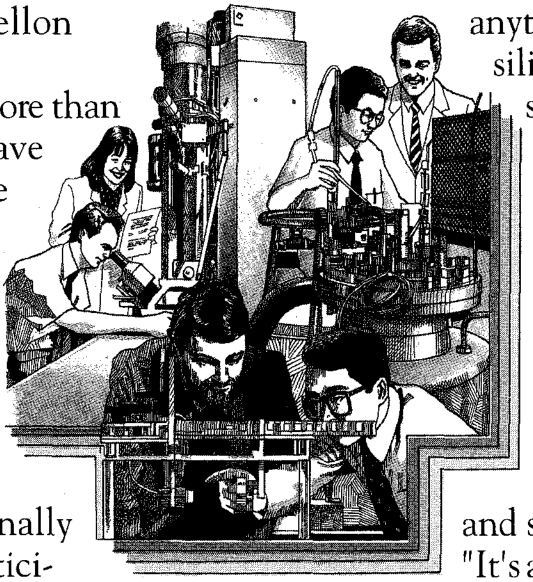
So it is up to his friends to tempt him out from the fortress of his Scotch-Irish pride by appealing instead to his decency and goodwill. I cannot believe they will be disappointed. If so, both Mr. Buchanan and the conservative movement will be in their debt. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

Where U.S. Researchers Find a Home Away From Home In Japan

Researchers are adventurers at heart. So it's no surprise that when Hitachi invited materials scientist Dr. Joseph O. Artman to spend six months this year working at its Central Research Laboratory (HCRL) in Tokyo, he eagerly accepted. "It gave me an opportunity to work in a new area, magneto-optics, and to see for myself how Japan works," recalls the Carnegie Mellon University professor.

Dr. Artman is one of more than 40 U.S. scientists who have worked in Japan over the last six years as participants in Hitachi's Research Visit Programs (HIVIPS). The programs aim to advance science through collaborative research and to enrich participants' lives personally and professionally. Participants work side-by-side with Hitachi scientists on basic problems in electronics and information systems.

For Dr. C.A. Cain, chairman of the University of Michigan's Bioengineering Program, HIVIPS proved a welcome sabbatical. "For the first time in years, I was able to pursue new ideas without interruption," he says. "In my time there, I basically defined my research directions for the next five years."



HIVIPS participants were struck by the effort to make them feel at home in Japan. "One of the nicest things about the program was the friends I made," says Dr. Cain. "We still do joint research and exchange visits," he adds.

HCRL's research facilities impressed the visitors. "I could do just about anything to a piece of silicon that I wanted to," says John Snyder, a Stanford University doctoral student in electrical engineering, who worked on a new kind of transistor. The visitors also appreciated the natural beauty of HCRL's campus, with its goldfish-stocked lake and sheltering woodlands. "It's an oasis of calm in Tokyo," says Dr. Cain.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the HIVIPS program. We believe that it can make a significant contribution to science, to its participants' lives, and to a better understanding between the U.S. and Japan.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 7515, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.

HITACHI

© 1992 HITACHI

FOR THE RECORD

■ **Paul Tsongas**, Democratic front-runner post New Hampshire, is hitting Dixie in preparation for Super Tuesday, March 10. Tsongas is getting serious contributions, some even from conservatives who are attracted by his "anti-politician" look and town-moderator demeanor. But his record in Congress (as senator 1978–84, and representative two terms before that) falls strictly in the liberal Democratic pile. His ACU ratings never broke 20; in 1978 his ADA slipped to 50, but it was more usually 85, 95, or (twice) 100. . . . Might Tsongas have had a change of heart, after seeing wreckage of Massachusetts Miracle of fellow Bay State Dem. **Michael Dukakis**? No reason to think so. In address to ADA as long ago as 1980, he warned that anti-business stance was mistaken, but concluded, "The soul of liberalism is intact"—including its emphasis on affirmative action. . . . Nebraska Sen. **Bob Kerrey** kept fading hopes alive with 40 per cent showing in South Dakota, but he will face **Bill Clinton**'s Arkansas flying squads in South. Talk of a late **Mario Cuomo** entry died down after poor showing of N.H. write-in campaign. . . . Strikingly in evidence in New Hampshire was panzer-like deployment of television cameras and boom microphones that kept candidates and ordinary voters effectively apart. Big-city columnists gazed disdainfully on Granite State society; *New York Post*'s **Pete Hamill** blamed it for not producing homeless people or crack users like the "real" America. . . . Absent from N.H. was **Joan Jett Blakk**, running on Queer Nation Party ticket. She claims to be first "queer, black, drag-queen" presidential candidate.

■ **Pat Buchanan**, bolstered by 31 per cent of South Dakota GOP vote going to uncommitted delegates, was talk of the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington, Feb. 20–22. *Human Events* editor **Allan Ryskind** pointed out that **Sam Donaldson** (who was present for debate with **Robert Novak** and **Mark Shields**) had made up a quote he attributed to Buchanan on December 8 **Brinkley** show: "The Jews are trying to drag us into war." Donaldson acknowledged his error, but next day, on Brinkley, he attacked Buchanan for remarking in 1986, during a closed-door meeting with **Elie Wiesel** and other Jewish leaders asking President **Reagan** (whose communications director Buchanan was) not to go to Bitburg: "When are you people going to start acting like Americans first?" Turns out Wiesel was not at that meeting, and Buchanan didn't say it. . . . CPAC attendees were polled on GOP race. To question: "If you were voting in a primary election today, which candidate would get your vote?" 54 per cent said Buchanan, 40.1 per cent **George Bush**. To "Would you say that Pat Buchanan's candidacy is a good thing for the conservative movement and the Republican Party or a bad thing?" 66.9 per cent said "good thing," 20.8 per cent "bad thing." On specific policy areas, 84.7 per cent agreed with Buchanan on taxes and spending, 11.9 per cent disagreed. However, on foreign policy, 41.4 per cent agreed, 46.8 per cent disagreed, and on trade, 36.4 per cent agreed, 49.8 per cent disagreed.

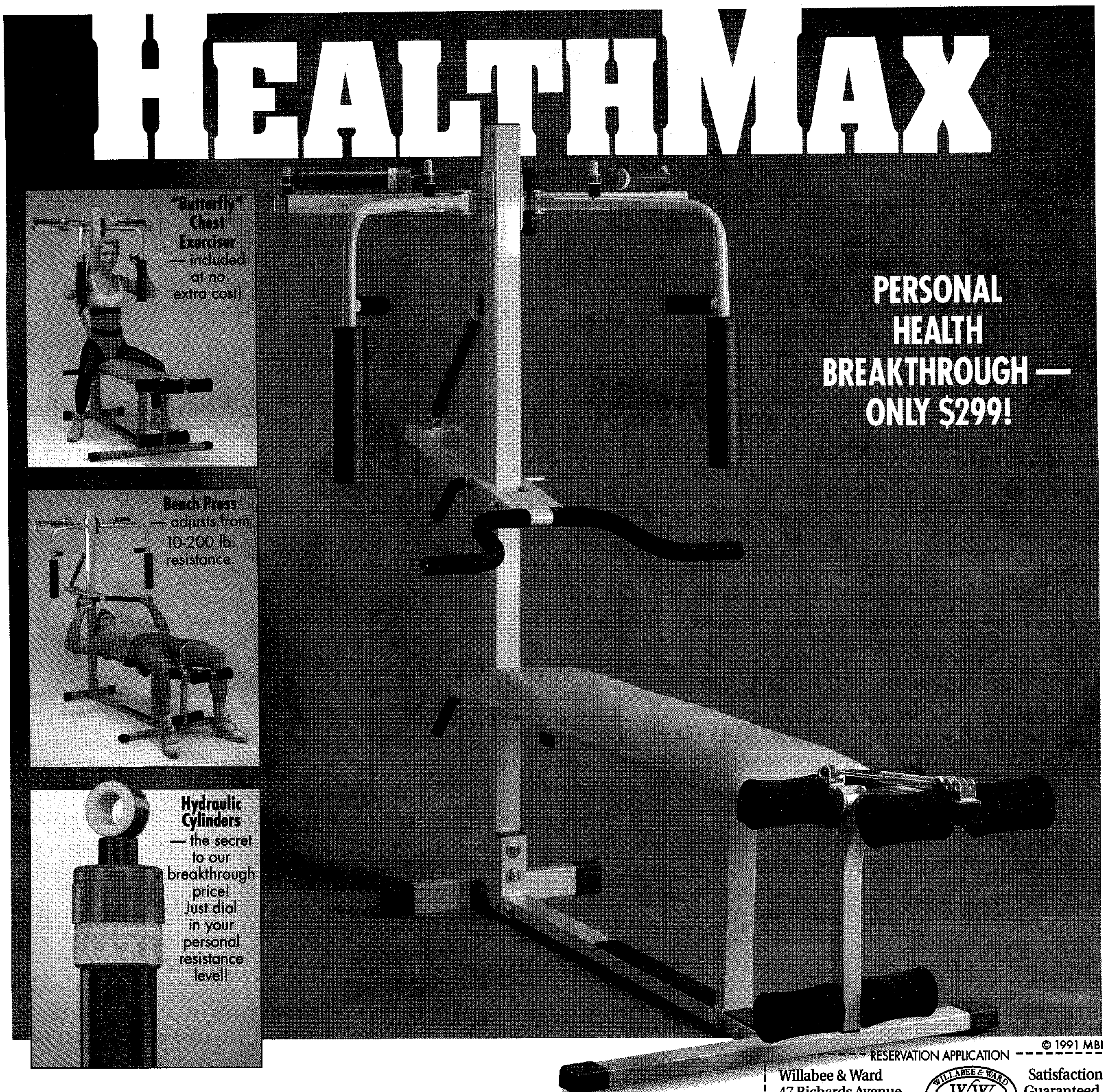
© Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

"You're late! Have you been ruining your chances of being a presidential candidate?"

■ **Boris Yeltsin**'s CIS is expecting to get some help from New York investment bank of **Goldman Sachs**, recently hired to persuade the rest of the world to invest in Russia. Its Moscow pied-à-terre will be in offices once used by Gosplan, the now defunct state planning agency. . . . Russian press incidentally is best place to catch up with disdained former ally and client, **Fidel Castro**. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* talks of his 32 residences across the island and his increasingly obsessive security, now requiring a force 9,700 strong. If the leader of the Cuban revolution wants to go swimming, the paper continues, then 122 navy divers "comb the sea bottom inch by inch, looking for underwater mines and traps." . . . The "**Gorbachev** of the Platteland"—South African President **F. W. de Klerk**—suffered a crushing defeat in a by-election in the Transvaal by **A. J. Treurnicht**'s militant Conservative Party, thus putting his whole anti-apartheid policy on the line. De Klerk has called a nationwide referendum for March.

■ Justice **Clarence Thomas**'s decisions and opinions are being subjected to examination unlike that of previous controversial Supreme Court Justices. *L.A. Times* reporter **David Savage** sees signs that Thomas might be "a conservative hard-liner ready to sharply restrict the protections of the Constitution." . . . After another decision, a ruling against a black county commissioner, *USA Today* quoted liberal blacks—including Judge **A. Leon Higginbotham**—who reproved Thomas for not remembering what the civil-rights movement had done for him. . . . Then *New York Times* front-paged a critical commentary on a decision Thomas rendered while on a lower court concerning women and affirmative action. *Times* quoted opposing authorities; **Anita Hill** appeared in last paragraph.

■ No more Indians, Braves, Redmen, or Redskins in sports pages of the principal newspaper in Portland, Oregon. The *Oregonian* said it would not have a hand in "perpetuating racial or cultural stereotypes in our community." **Dave Matheson**, of the Coeur d'Alene tribe in Idaho, said that Indians often refer to themselves as "skins." He dismissed the fuss as an "urban Indian thing."


HEALTHMAX
"Butterfly" Chest Exerciser — included at no extra cost!
Bench Press — adjusts from 10-200 lb. resistance
Hydraulic Cylinders — the secret to our breakthrough price! Just dial in your personal resistance level!
PERSONAL HEALTH BREAKTHROUGH — ONLY $299!

© 1991 MBI

You don't have to pay $1000 for a quality fitness machine. Now there's HealthMax for ONLY $299!

■ Heard the news? Medical experts now agree — aerobic exercise is great for your heart, but *strength training is vital for overall health and well-being!* Young or old, *everybody* needs it...for healthy bones and muscles and fitness...not to mention trimmer good looks.

Here's more news—you don't have to plunk down $600 to join a gym. Or drop $1,000 for a fitness machine. Just get your hands on new *HealthMax*—for only $299!

The Secret: Hydraulic Resistance Cylinders!

Why just $299? Simple. You *don't* pay for lots of weights, complicated cables, pulleys or rubber straps. Three precision engineered hydraulic "shock absorbers" provide dynamic resistance for the "butterfly" chest exerciser and bench press. No constant assembly/disassembly between exercises, either. *Adjustable dials* on the hydraulic cylinders set your personal resistance level.

You get a padded bench for comfort. Adjustable leg extension unit is built in, *not* an expensive add-on. Heavy gauge steel construction. Safe and reliable. Exercises all major muscle groups. Full one-year limited warranty.

Easy Monthly Installments.

Order *HealthMax* today for only $299 (plus $30 shipping/handling — total $329), payable in five easy credit card installments of $65.80. *Satisfaction completely guaranteed.* Take the first step to a fuller, healthier life...and a trimmer, thinner you! Order *today!*

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534 ***Ext. 638-1009***

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

WILLABEE & WARD W&W

Satisfaction Guaranteed.

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 638-1009

Please accept my reservation for *HealthMax* — the personal fitness machine. My breakthrough price of only $299 (plus $30 shipping/handling) is payable in five easy credit card installments of $65.80*. If not delighted, I can return *HealthMax* within 30 days of receipt for a full refund.

☐ Check here if you want *HealthMax* charged to your: ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card # Expiration Date

Name ____________________
Please Print Clearly

Address ____________________

City/State ____________ Zip ________

Signature ____________________
All orders subject to acceptance.

☐ I prefer to pay by check. Enclosed is my deposit of $131.60* (payable to Willabee & Ward). I will pay the balance as billed in three monthly installments of $65.80*.

*Includes shipping and handling. Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

Allow 4-8 weeks for shipment.

THE WEEK

■ READ PEGGY NOONAN'S LIPS: Asked why George Bush went back on a pledge to environmentalists, Budget Director Darman explained: "He didn't say that. He read what was given to him in a speech."

■ Early returns from Dixville Notch, N.H., put Andre Marrou, the Libertarian candidate, ahead of the whole field, with 11 votes, when the polls closed at 12:06 A.M. But the early front-runner was overtaken when the rest of the state voted the next day. The big question now: Can Marrou bounce back?

■ No one who followed the New Hampshire campaign closely was surprised by Paul Tsongas's strong showing, which had little to do with his being a next-door neighbor. Despite his look-what-the-cat-dragged-in countenance, Tsongas is an earnest and engaging man whose qualifications hold up well over the long haul. Whether he, Clinton, or someone else winds up as the Democratic nominee, George Bush will have his hands full in the fall. Eight per cent of New Hampshire Republican voters wrote in Tsongas or Clinton. Who were these people but the yuppie baby boomers, fans of low taxes and low morals? Without the absolute guarantee of no new taxes—their tie to the GOP—they were free to seek economic moderates who believe in abortion on demand, feminism, and gay rights. So Bush stands to lose this chunk of the Reagan coalition in November, even as his waffling on quotas has made the white lower middle class, alarmed by the underclass nipping at its heels, easy marks for Pat Buchanan (or, in the worst case, for David Duke).

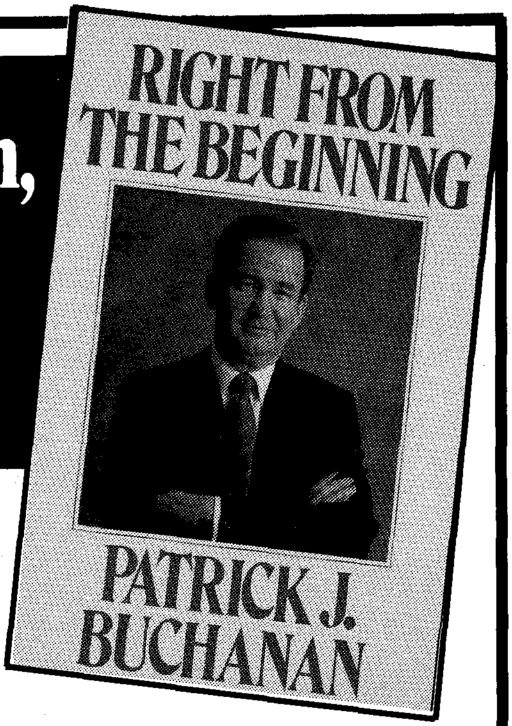
■ The last time a figure at the level of presidential politics was nailed for his war record was 1988, when Dan Quayle's service in the National Guard was examined with a jeweler's eye. Quayle's examiners, chiefly the press, appeared to accept the moral framework of the Eighties—that most of America's wars have been just, and that citizenship entails obligations. Flash forward four years, to a new candidate, and a new moral framework. Young Bill Clinton not only arranged his phantom ROTC program with shrewd self-interest, he defended his decision in the modish antiwar-speak of the Sixties, writing at the time that while World War II had been a just war, Korea and Vietnam weren't; that the draft system was "illegitimate"; that a draft resister chum of his at Oxford was "one of the bravest, best men" he knew. While questioning other aspects of Clinton's behavior, the media treated this one with silence, amounting to agreement, forgetting the toll of slaughter in Southeast Asia after America's exit. Croatian-Americans are reportedly contributing heavily to Patrick Buchanan, in gratitude for his defense of their beleaguered country. We know one candidate who shouldn't be getting checks from Vietnamese-Americans—or from any Americans who take their responsibilities as citizens seriously.

■ In an interview with the *Washington Times*, White House Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner hinted that Pat Buchanan is an anti-Semite. "I think the Jewish community believes he is. From everything I know, they're the best ones to measure his record on that issue," Skinner said. "It's certainly a debatable issue. It would appear that the voters would like to know the answer to that question, and a number of organizations who study that and are experts on that issue have reached that conclusion." Good work, Sam. The President didn't have to say a thing.

■ Meanwhile, several prominent columnists—A. M. Rosenthal in the *New York Times* and Richard Cohen, Carl Rowan, and William Raspberry in the *Washington Post*—are complaining that the news media haven't been tough enough on Pat Buchanan, whom they regard as an out-and-out bigot. Needless to say, we disagree; Buchanan has taken some pitches high and inside from, for example, Sam Donaldson, and criticism of him in these pages has received ample publicity. What is interesting about the demand of Messrs. Rosenthal et al. is its evident assumption that the role of the media is not primarily to report events impartially, but to infuse their coverage with moral judgments colored by certain political commitments. These gentlemen clearly believe that the media are susceptible to an appeal to slant the news their way. We agree. But it's hard to imagine a conservative or a libertarian calling on the media to shade things another way.

■ The Congressional Budget Office has quietly admitted (in a letter to Representative Dick Armey) that its most recent estimate of capital-gains income—$254 billion for 1990—was $134 billion too high, off by a mere 112 per cent. It seems that in calculating "real" capital gains the CBO neglected to adjust the purchase price upward so as to remove the effect of inflation from normal gains. This one mistake helped kill the Archer–Jenkins capital-gains reduction bill, provided endless ammo for class-warfare troops, and seems about to frustrate another economic-growth package. Who says government isn't efficient?

If you like Pat Buchanan, you'll love his book. Enjoy it — FREE



Pat Buchanan grew up in strange times. Mothers stayed home to raise the children, and no Phil Donahue putting sick ideas into their heads. Big Government meant the feds were spending $35 billion. Even the liberals wanted a strong America.

So if some of Buchanan's NEW ideas startle you, this book shows you where they came from....

- Why "democracy is not enough." The crucial importance Pat places on Judeo-Christian values in the reform of our nation
- The private Nixon. How he and Reagan differ. Fascinating glimpses into each man's personality
- The old Catholic ways: Pat thrives under the Jesuits, the discipline of the Church, the life of his parish. (A poignant chapter for Catholics as Pat recalls the Old Church, with love)
- Ten constitutional amendments Pat's ideal president would propose
- What they don't tell you about Senator Joe McCarthy
- Prediction: one liberal-conservative battle to come

Some pages bring you back to — dare we say it? — better days. Other pages might just burn your fingers. But that's Pat Buchanan.

"Pat Buchanan is perhaps the most brilliant and influential conservative writing in America today."—Richard Nixon

"To know what the conservatives are thinking you have to read Pat Buchanan."—George Bush

"A graceful and affecting tribute to the people, places, and institutions that molded him.... Vivid, resonant."—*Kirkus Reviews*

"My old friend from the Nixon White House days has written a crackerjack book with humor, wit, poignancy and, perhaps, prophecy."—William Safire

"Buchanan is the pit bull of the American Right."—George F. Will

Extra FREE Gift — the $39.95
American Conservatism: An Illustrated History

Robert Nagle's lavish picture history features 270 photos, paintings, cartoons, maps, etc. — many in glorious color. Huge 9 x 12. Only book of its kind.

How to get Pat Buchanan's book PLUS *American Conservatism* — both FREE. A $58.90 value!

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books are offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send my FREE copy of Patrick J. Buchanan's new $18.95 memoir, *Right from the Beginning*. Also send FREE the $39.95 illustrated *American Conservatism* by Robert Nagle. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.
NR204

Name ____________________
Address ____________________
City ____________ State ______ Zip ______

■ Our infant-mortality rate is higher than that for other industrialized nations, an ill that some claim national health insurance can cure. Now, part of the problem—the availability of care, etc.—may be supply-side. But other evidence suggests that the real problem is on the demand side: expectant and new mothers who, even though resources are available, do not treat themselves and their babies right. Demographer Nicholas Eberstadt of Harvard University and the American Enterprise Institute points out that, on average, married mothers treat their babies better than do unmarried mothers, and this difference is more significant than the difference between rich and poor. Since Mr. Eberstadt's article on this subject for *NR* appeared ("Is Illegitimacy a Public-Health Hazard?" Dec. 30, 1988), fresh studies have strengthened his evidence. A study of sixty thousand births in Missouri, for instance, suggests that the key factor is choices made by the mothers themselves, not society's different treatment of the two groups. For example, even though married women who didn't finish high school are much more likely to be smokers than are unmarried college graduates, the latter smoke more while pregnant. The anti-family crowd may excuse this by pointing out that unwed mothers are under more stress, have a tougher time making ends meet, etc. Indeed.

■ Just as Ted Kennedy is denying declassified Soviet reports of his attempts to establish a private line to Moscow during the "unfortunate Reagan era," Italy has been shaken by a letter from Palmiro Togliatti, found in the Comintern archives and reported by Eric Breindel in the *New York Post*. In the 1943 letter, the co-founder of the Italian Communist Party explains that he will not intervene with his good friend Stalin on behalf of the fifty thousand Italians languishing in the Gulag (captured after Mussolini had sent them the Eastern Front to express solidarity). The "death of a good number of the prisoners, due to the harsh conditions" would be an "efficient antidote," teaching survivors and relatives the cost of serving fascism. Having served the winning side of WW II, Togliatti was lionized in Italy as late as his death in 1964; President Francesco Cossiga now says he "desperately hopes the letter is not authentic." May we see the Hiss files now?

Some Charge

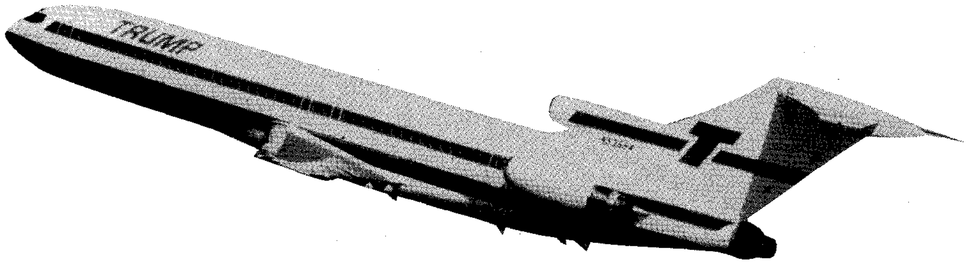
Bashed for ineptitude,
Branded a Beltway dude,
Battered by ads so rude,
  Mr. Bush wondered
Why, with his sandy socks
Styled like the Desert Fox,
He'd wound up in a box:
  Someone had blundered.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ In a Midwest state, federal authorities thoughtfully checked a list of Social Security recipients over the age of 100. Six of the centenarians turned out to be a 79-year-old lady who, back in 1954, listed herself as born four times in 1889 and twice again in 1891, started collecting benefits in 1957, and is some $190,000 richer in nominal dollars (worth at least twice that in today's dollars) and comfortably retired. The lady was, indeed, so pleased with her retirement in 1957 that she went into teaching with phony credentials, earning an additional salary and pension. After her real retirement, she took advantage of a state program giving tax credits to the elderly who did not earn $1,000 per year, a feat she managed at least 44 times in ten years. But taxpayers were bound to hit back sometime.

■ Iwao Matsuda, president of Chukyo University, in Boston on academic business, was shot and killed, motive unknown, in his luxury hotel room. Reporter Fox Butterfield has his own way with words. Here's his *New York Times* lead: "The president of a Japanese university . . . was shot and killed in his hotel room on Tuesday evening, an *act likely to feed stereotypes in Japan about the prevalence of crime in America* [italics added]." Ah, those Japanese and their stereotypes. You can't walk the streets of Tokyo without fear of being insensitively labeled.

■ A 14-year-old Irish girl, raped by her best friend's father, has been denied permission by the Irish government to go to England for an abortion. Advocates of legal abortion are making the most of it, and the media coverage has been full of rhetorical nudges about "predominantly Catholic Ireland." But the case is naturally troubling even to those who regard abortion as evil. It raises the question, among others, of how far the state should go to prevent abortion. Pro-lifers will argue that there is no right to take an unborn child abroad for the purpose of having him killed. That is true: there is no such right. But may the state curtail the normal right to travel for the sake of saving that life? At some point most of those who disapprove of abortion will say that the law has done all it reasonably can by forbidding abortion and making its procurement difficult. Evil may not be prevented by means of political tyranny. If this heart-rending case has a moral, it is that the mission of pro-life forces must be to change not only the law but the culture of the modern West, and to restore the consensus that every human life is precious. In the long run this can only be achieved by persuasion.



INTRODUCING THE TRUMP WAY TO FEEL THE BAJAN WAY.

TRUMP AIRLINES OFFERS WEEKEND SERVICE TO BARBADOS.

Feeling the Bajan way has never felt better! Because now you can fly Trump Airlines to Barbados via Miami from New York and really start your vacation off in style. Or, if you prefer, you can simply fly Trump Airlines to Miami and still have fun in the sun.

You'll enjoy all the quality and service that have made the Trump name the standard by which all business travel in the Northeast is measured.

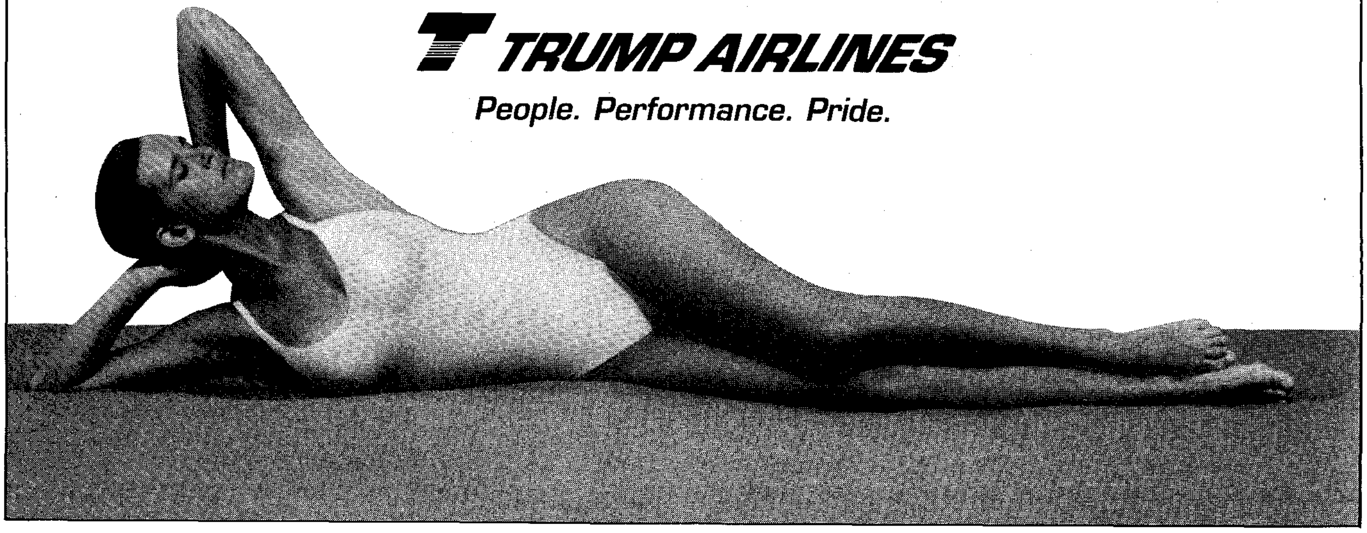
So next time you feel like taking off to Barbados or Miami, ask your travel agent to book you on Trump Airlines.

Enjoy the Trump way to feel the Bajan way!

For more information please call your professional travel agent or Trump Airlines at **1-800-247-8786**. Fares and schedules subject to government approval.

TRUMP AIRLINES

People. Performance. Pride.



- Almost lost in the shuffle, the fifth winner in NATIONAL REVIEW's Soviet privatization contest: David Keyser of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Mr. Keyser's proposal for "Property Purchase Certificates" earned him the right to share the $1,000 prize with the four other winners announced in our last issue.

- Making his debut as a columnist in the *New York Times*, Mikhail Gorbachev writes: "I think the Stalinist model is dead and, I would add, thank God. I am entirely certain that its death does not affect socialism itself. The idea of socialism lives on . . ." Yes, as long as the *Times* has an op-ed page.

Pyrrhus on the Hustings

OF ALL the possible interpretations of New Hampshire's results, the least plausible has been George Bush's. Mr. Bush seems to believe that this was a matter of style, not substance. When the returns were in he issued a terse statement that did not mention Buchanan by name, much less give him credit for a good effort. A day later he appeared on television to tell America that the Bush campaign was taking off the gloves as a new set of ads attacking his opponent was prepared. The idea is that Pat Buchanan can be beaten with a combination of Peggy Noonan and Willie Horton.

This is an all too familiar pattern by now: conservatives get fiery speeches and comforting words; liberals get the legislation. On the day the President delivered his State of the Union address, for example, Education Secretary Lamar Alexander had already surrendered to Teddy Kennedy on vouchers for private schools. This same dissonance marks the response to 11 weeks of active campaigning by Mr. Buchanan. All along the President has been trying to look pained while telling people that he "understands the message of dissatisfaction." But he refuses to make policy changes in line with his words. Blaming Congress for not considering his growth packages will not do the trick. Americans know Congress is to blame. But they want to know what the President plans to do about it.

After fudging for a year whether we were in a recession, the President told everyone to wait for the State of the Union. When the State of the Union came he told us to wait for March 20. With this deadline just three weeks away, Hill Republicans tell us that there is no strategy for enforcing that deadline. Yet Mr. Bush could, for example, announce that he was unilaterally indexing capital gains to inflation, or exercising a line-item veto on Democratic spending. His present strategy of *Waiting for Godot* will not play in Peoria, any more than it played in South Dakota, where he got only two-thirds of the vote running against nobody. After a while even the biggest dullard in the audience has to figure out the point of the play is that Godot never arrives.

Nowhere is this confusion better reflected than in the ousting of the head of the National Endowment of the Arts, John Frohnmayer. Mr. Frohnmayer's departure came after critics publicized a $5,000 grant to the magazine *Queer City*, which had published a poem celebrating the rape of a white woman in Central Park by a black gang. Not only did Mr. Frohnmayer defend the poem, but in an emotional farewell to his staff he cited his fight against even the mildest of congressional anti-pornography restrictions as his greatest achievement and expressed the wish that "this eclipse of the soul will soon pass and with it the lunacy that sees artists as enemies and ideas as demons."

The danger to the Bush campaign in playing up Frohnmayer's removal is that it invites questions as to why he was appointed in the first place and then allowed to hang on so long. Indeed why he won't be leaving until May 1. Moreover, in his letter to Mr. Frohnmayer, the President noted that "some of the art funded by the NEA does not have my enthusiastic approval." Does it have his reluctant approval?

Richard Darman's continued tenure at the Office of Management and Budget is an even greater threat to Mr. Bush's Presidency. It was Mr. Darman who removed even modest child tax relief from the Administration's list of priorities. His presence prevents Mr. Bush from conceding that the 1990 budget summit was a colossal blunder. And Mr. Bush's reluctance to admit a mistake on this central issue—which he himself made the cornerstone of his last campaign—undermines his credibility on every other issue. He makes matters almost unimaginably worse by maintaining, as he did in New Hampshire, that he never took the pledge not to raise taxes the first time around.

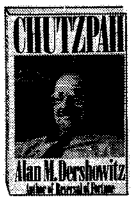
Mr. Buchanan all along has said that his purpose in running was to deliver a message. Within a week of New Hampshire the Administration's response

What Is to Be Done?

"Go negative," the Devil says,
  Above his better ear,
While on the other shoulder, where
  The cherubim appear,
The President hears voices say
  "To thine own self be true,"
But that's been so re-done, God knows
  What Mr. Bush will do.

W. H. VON DREELE

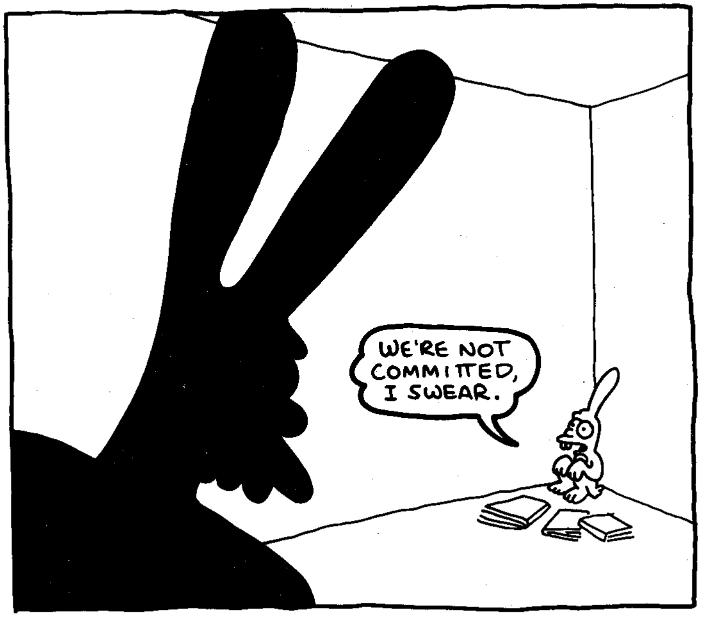
WITH QPB, THERE'S NOTHING TO BE AFRAID OF.


CHUTZPAH
Alan M. Dershowitz

***549.** "One of the most important and controversial books about American Jews" —Boston *Globe.*
Hardcover: $22.95
QPB: $11.95

HENRY MILLER
Tropic of Cancer
Black Spring
The Colossus of Maroussi

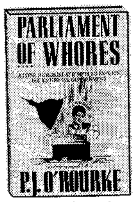
421. A Henry Miller QPB Original: *Tropic of Cancer, Black Spring* and *The Colossus of Maroussi.*
(3-in-1 vol.)
QPB: $12.95


WE'RE NOT COMMITTED, I SWEAR.

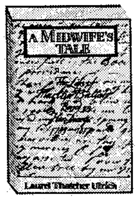
©1990 BY MATT GROENING

A Year in Provence
PETER MAYLE

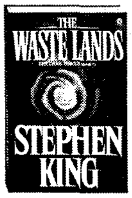
674. Peter Mayle and his wife discover the charms, and idiosyncrasies, of Provence.
QPB: $8.95


PARLIAMENT OF WHORES
P.J. O'ROURKE

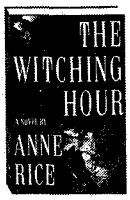
***577.** A shrewd and savage portrait of all things political in America.
Hardcover: $19.95
QPB: $10.95


A MIDWIFE'S TALE
Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

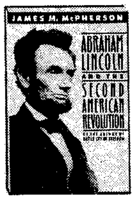
561. A rare glimpse into a late-18th-century New England woman's life.
QPB: $10.95


THE WASTE LANDS
STEPHEN KING

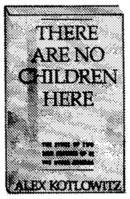
532. King continues his epic series in the quest to learn the secrets of the Dark Tower.
QPB: $12.95


THE WITCHING HOUR
ANNE RICE

527. A beautiful young surgeon-witch is pursued by a demon lover.
QPB: $12.95


JAMES M. McPHERSON
ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION

***471.** McPherson looks at the impact the Civil War and Lincoln had on America.
Hardcover: $17.95
QPB: $8.95


THERE ARE NO CHILDREN HERE
ALEX KOTLOWITZ

***584.** Two boys try to overcome the poverty, gangs and drugs of their neighborhood.
Hardcover: $21.95
QPB: $10.95

Isabel Allende
The Stories of Eva Luna

***131.** Twenty-three magical and erotic stories by the author of *The House of the Spirits.*
Hardcover: $18.95
QPB: $10.95

3 books, 3 bucks.
No commitment. No kidding.

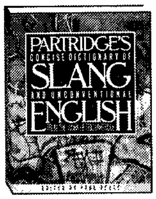
There's nothing scary about joining Quality Paperback Book Club. Because we don't make you commit yourself to buying a certain number of books every year. All you have to do is choose 3 books from this page, pay only $1 each, plus shipping and handling, and enjoy them.

As a member, you'll receive the *QPB Review,* free, 15 times a year (about once every 3½ weeks). In it, you'll discover an intriguing selection of fiction, history, science, biography, humor, horror and much more. QPB softcover books are priced up to 60% less than their hardcover counterparts. And every QPB book you buy earns Bonus Points that you can trade for free books (you pay just shipping and handling).

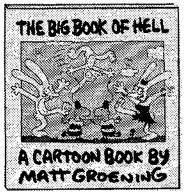
So, what's to be afraid of? Choose your 3 books for 3 bucks today.

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE
DEE BROWN

325. The classic story of how the Indians lost the West.
QPB: $12.95


PARTRIDGE'S CONCISE DICTIONARY OF SLANG AND UNCONVENTIONAL ENGLISH

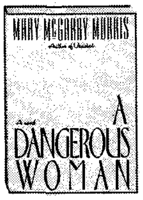
***137.** The "OED of slang" is filled with fun and educational facts about 20th-century slang words and phrases.
Hardcover: $35
QPB: $16.95


THE BIG BOOK OF HELL
A CARTOON BOOK BY MATT GROENING

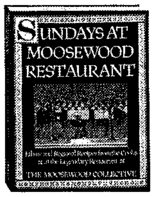
185. A decade's worth of Life in Hell cartoon strips—by the creator of The Simpsons.™
QPB: $12.95

LONELY HEARTS OF THE COSMOS
DENNIS OVERBYE

305. The history of cosmology beginning with Sandage's observations of distant galaxies.
QPB: $10.95

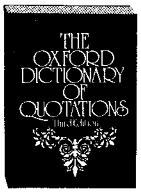

MARY McGARRY MORRIS
A DANGEROUS WOMAN

418. Obsessions, loneliness and rage lead a disturbed woman to madness and murder.
QPB: $9.95

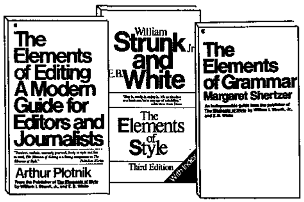

SUNDAYS AT MOOSEWOOD RESTAURANT

310. This cookbook from the legendary restaurant features superb vegetarian cookery.
QPB: $15.95

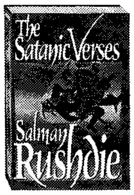
***QPB Exclusive:** The only softcover edition now available.


THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS
Third Edition

***482.** This latest edition of the famous dictionary has 40,000 memorable quotations.
Hardcover: $45
QPB: $18.95


The Elements of Editing A Modern Guide for Editors and Journalists
Arthur Plotnik
William Strunk Jr. and E.B. White
The Elements of Style
Third Edition
The Elements of Grammar
Margaret Shertzer

109. A special QPB trio: *The Elements of Editing; The Elements of Style; The Elements of Grammar.*
(3-volume set)
QPB: $10.95


The Satanic Verses
Salman Rushdie

***406.** "A roller-coaster ride over a vast landscape of the imagination" —London *Guardian.*
Hardcover: $19.95
QPB: $9.95

How QPB Membership Works.

Selection: Each *QPB Review* lists a new Selection. If you want it, do nothing—it will be shipped automatically. If you want another book or no book at all, complete the Reply Form always enclosed and return it by the specified date. (A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.)

Return Privilege: If the *QPB Review* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit.

Cancellations: You may cancel membership at any time by notifying QPB. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

O.K. Send me 3 books for $3.
No commitment. No fear.

Quality Paperback Book Club,® Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001

Please enroll me in QPB and send me the 3 choices I've listed below, billing me only $1 each, plus shipping and handling charges. I understand that I am not required to buy another book. You will send me the *QPB Review* (if my account is in good standing) for at least six months.

2-16

☐ ☐ ☐ *Indicate by number your 3 choices*

QPB® Quality Paperback Book Club

Name *(Please print clearly)* QB123-3-3

Address Apt.

City State Zip

Prices are generally higher in Canada. © 1992 Quality Paperback Book Club. All orders subject to approval.

had changed from lofty dismissal to accusations that the Buchanan campaign could deliver the White House to a Democrat. Mr. Bush's one concession—the Frohnmayer sacking—is essentially cosmetic. Mr. Bush is still privately convinced that he can win in November without giving unmistakable evidence that he has returned to conservative actions as well as conservative rhetoric. He is like the proverbial liberal judge who assured the court that his judgment would not be influenced by one mugging. "Mug him again!" we reply, with the little old lady in tennis shoes. Georgia and Super Tuesday, with Buchanan on the ballot, will provide good occasions for a little felony.

Reagan, the Pope, And Poland

EVERY ONCE in a while, our major media surprise us. *Time* has been one of the high priests at the altar of Gorbachev; it has insistently propagated the notion that reform came to the Soviet empire miraculously full-blown from the brow of the Savior from Stavropol, and that Western policies of political and moral pressure either had nothing to do with it or may even have retarded it (see Strobe Talbott, *passim*). Now comes *Time* with a cover story on the "holy alliance" between President Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II—their intimate and active collaboration to keep the Solidarity labor union alive in Poland after Brezhnev's henchmen imposed martial law in 1981.

It is a dramatic and even glowing investigative account—under the byline of red-diaper baby Carl Bernstein, no less—detailing how the Church operated as a vast network shielding and nurturing Solidarity's underground activities inside Poland; how the Vatican and the United States Government constantly exchanged information and coordinated many of their actions; and how the United States, especially the CIA and the National Endowment for Democracy, along with the AFL-CIO, provided another lifeline of vital resources. Solidarity through all its lean years managed to field duplicating and printing equipment, communications gear (including fax machines!), and other means to survive until a post-Brezhnev leadership in Moscow found itself facing impossible choices.

What is news is not that this occurred, but that our "mainstream" media are willing to give Ronald Reagan a share of the credit. Most of us never doubted that both Ronald Reagan and John Paul II played crucial roles in the demise of our adversary. But it is refreshing to have *Time* say so.

Some precision is also in order. In an era not so long gone, a revelation that the CIA was involved in a struggle was enough to discredit the struggle in some circles. One searches in vain, fortunately, for any such insinuation in the *Time* story. But it is almost certain that many of the players involved (especially the National Endowment for Democracy) were unaware of the CIA's stealthy background role. The *Time* story may even exaggerate. And nothing in that story should be construed to diminish the achievement of the brave Poles who kept up the struggle, at enormous personal risk, all the braver because they too did not know the full strength of the outside forces committed to their survival.

Henry and Clare Luce would be proud.

Relatively Speaking

THE middle class is shrinking! The middle class is shrinking! The Census Bureau's latest study proves it: the proportion of Americans with "middle" incomes declined from 71.2 per cent in 1969 to 63.3 per cent in 1989. Another sign of economic Armageddon? Well, not exactly. The report also shows that most of the people who were displaced from the middle class since 1979 ended up in the highest income group. A record 14.7 per cent of Americans had incomes that were at least twice the median income in 1989, up from 11.9 per cent in 1979. Funny, there were no headlines about that.

Meanwhile, low-income Americans, defined by the Census Bureau as those making less than half the median income, rose from 17.9 per cent of the population in 1969 to 22.1 per cent in 1989. The press jumped on this as yet another sign of downward economic mobility. But the Census study suppressed a vital piece of information: real median family income rose by 15 per cent over this period, from $31,292 in 1969 to $36,062 in 1989. As a result, while a larger fraction of Americans have incomes below half the median income, many members of this group were, in fact, better off in 1989 than they were twenty years earlier.

Israel, Lebanon, and Peace

AS MIDDLE EAST peace negotiators reconvened in Washington in the last week of February, Israeli helicopter gunships swooped down on the motorcade of Hezbollah leader Sheikh Abbas Musawi in southern Lebanon and blew him up; Shiite radicals stepped up their attacks on Israelis along the Lebanese border; Israel launched a major ground incursion and then pulled back; and Katyusha rockets landed on a kibbutz, killing a five-year-old girl.

Lebanon was again the innocent victim, the dumping ground for the region's worst problems. Last year, Syria and Iran won Western goodwill by pressing Hezbollah to release the hostages there. It now seems that the quid pro quo that Damascus and Teheran gave Hezbollah was a free hand to step up its campaign against Israel. It's a dangerous game, particularly for the Syrians who now dominate Lebanon and may find themselves sucked into an unwanted confrontation with Israel. As for the late Sheikh Musawi, the *Washington Post* reported that he had boasted of his role in the 1983 car-bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut. He who lives by the sword . . .

Historical experience suggests, in any event, that this brutalizing of Lebanon, tragic as it is, will not seriously affect the central negotiation. The Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians, and other delegations all showed up in Washington regardless. The breakthrough of Madrid—the agreement of Israelis and Palestinians to negotiate an interim accord on autonomy, without prejudice to the two sides' positions on the final status of the occupied territories—remains in hand. And an Israeli general election, now scheduled for June 23, promises to bring to office a government that will be more capable than its predecessor of restoring the strategic partnership with the United States and bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

For that reason the week's most important news may have been the ascension of Yitzhak Rabin to the leadership of the Israeli Labor Party. Rabin—a distinguished contributor to *NR*'s recent Middle East symposium (October 7, 1991)—combines tough-mindedness on security with a strategic vision and commitment to peacemaking. He is also the most popular leader in Israel. The chances grow that, at the very least, we shall see again a Likud–Labor government of national unity that will be able to ignore the extremists and the small religious parties and navigate safely through the treacherous shoals of the negotiations.

Greenhouse Deconstructed

THE ENVIRONMENTAL activists of the Left have long dominated the media. Decades of grandstanding have benumbed the perceptions of an audience exposed to the catastrophists 16 times more often than to the doubters. Scientists and technologists have suffered this barrage along with the rest of us.

At long last the silent scientific majority has found a voice: the Center for Science, Technology, and the Media. In a ground-breaking study of what climate scientists actually think about the climate-change debate, the Center got the Gallup poll to interrogate a large and randomly selected cross-section of the American Geophysical Union and the American Meteorological Society. The results are startling. What had been presented as scientists versus the White House turns out to be scientists versus scientists.

Even as Democrats running in New Hampshire were denouncing John Sununu as "the only American who isn't worried about the greenhouse effect," the other CNN channel was covering the Center's report. Just 41 per cent of the real experts thought there was "scientific evidence" for global warming, and 90 per cent of them characterized research on climate change as "emerging science." While 70 per cent consider the caliber of the underlying work to be "fair to poor," 66 per cent nonetheless believe that *some* climate change induced by man confronts us or our posterity.

The last statistic is less paradoxical in the light of the Center's parallel investigation into what the media have been drilling into the AGU/AMS membership (along with the rest of America). Last year there were nearly five hundred network television and mass-circulation stories, more than one-fifth of them devoted to coastal flooding due to global warming. The most quoted individual was the foremost advocate of warming—NASA's Dr. James Hansen popped up 104 times. And a large majority of the stories were "ominous in tone."

The objective and dispassionate investigation of the interaction of science and the media is long overdue. It can only benefit both. By illuminating the difference between what a few scientists (about 2 per cent in the AGU/AMS poll) tell to the media and what the majority say to each other, the Center should contribute to two valuable goals—reducing the credibility gap in the climate-change debate and conserving something that all should cherish, left, right, and center: the political neutrality of science itself.

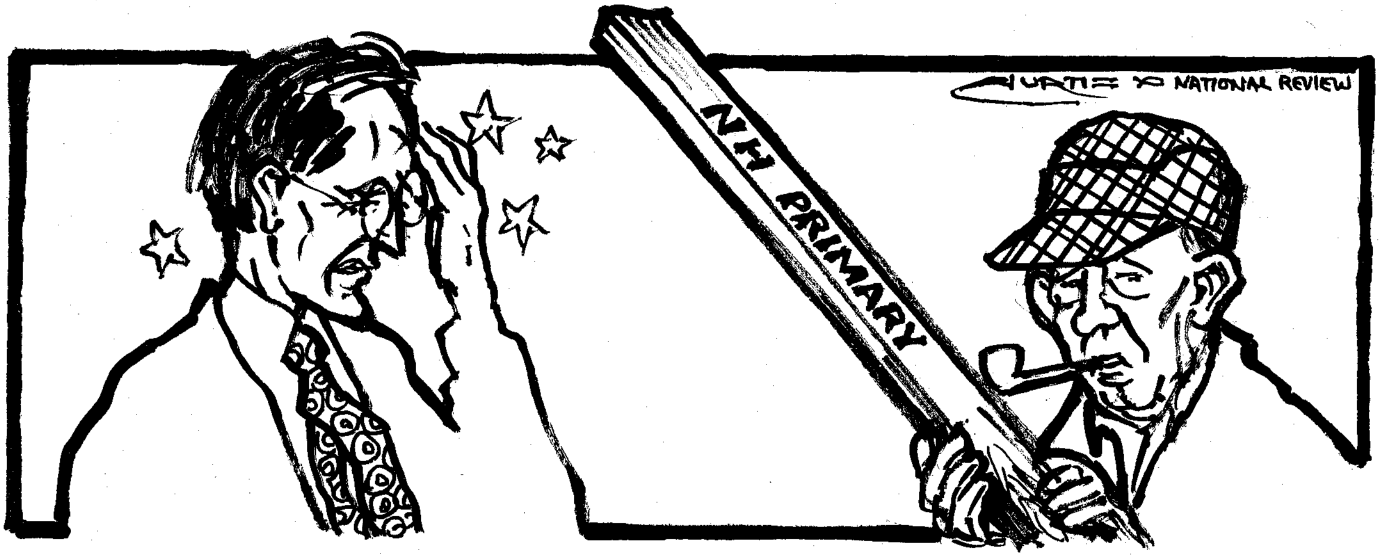
NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Illiteracy is bad. It's killing our economy. Too many Americans, lacking the basic reading, writing, and math skills, are driving America's living standard lower and lower, inevitably to Third World levels. Widespread illiteracy also mortally threatens our democracy.

Unfortunately, requisite reforms in the public-school system are far from reality. And even if the needed reforms started *tomorrow* and could be quickly implemented *throughout* America, we would still have an inadequately educated workforce for many, many years.

We must act decisively, *now*. Using the logic of the



"First, you gotta git his attention!"

drug war and the style of Jonathan Swift, I offer a modest proposal: *Declare war on illiteracy*. As of January 1, 1993, all adults caught without basic reading, writing, and math skills will be subject to heavy fines, then (if more force is required) imprisonment, then (if still more force is required) capital punishment.

Enforce the law with an ongoing dragnet of roadblocks to stop and test adults meeting "illiterate profiles," modeled on "drug courier profiles." (Fines can be used to finance war costs: construction costs for new prisons, additional court costs, etc.) Enforce higher and higher levels of literacy, as the economy demands.

The message is finally delivered, loud and clear: "Illiterates, *you* cost the American economy and the American democracy, so now it's going to cost *you* for a change. No more coddling!" These tough sanctions can then supply school-age children with a powerful incentive that is currently lacking: a loud and clear message: "Study hard or else!" The War on Illiteracy thus lays a solid foundation for desperately needed education reform, a welcome bonus to an Illiterate-Free America!

Modestly yours,
Mike Binkley
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Binkley: Gee. I wish *I* had thought of that! Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

While writing a poem about the "Chiff-sound of the Thrush," I was brought up suddenly by one of my critics who wanted to know what on earth a "Chiff-sound" was. I answered, lamely to be sure, that that wonderful sound was flute-like. My friend said, Where on earth did you find the word "chiff"? To make a long story short, I said, It flew out of my head—since none of our dictionaries has the word.

So I implore you, wordiest of wordsmiths, to tell me where it exists. Perhaps in a foreign-language dictionary somewhere. My friend thought I was on the right track. "Bill Buckley will surely know. If he knows what a chigetai is, he must be aware of such a wonderful word as 'chiff.'" Ergo this letter to you.

Sincerely,
Auburn J. Lamb
Silver Spring, Md.

Dear Mr. Lamb: Sorry, but I don't. (And I don't know what "chigetai" is, either.) If it's in a poem you can always justify it on onomatopoetic grounds. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I recently discovered the ultimate in "political correctness." *The Nation* defines a "political prisoner" as someone who murdered a police officer or Brink's Armored Car guard while attempting to rob same. *The Nation* further defines "murderers" as those who kill, in self-defense, Communist terrorists who randomly murder civilians in El Salvador.

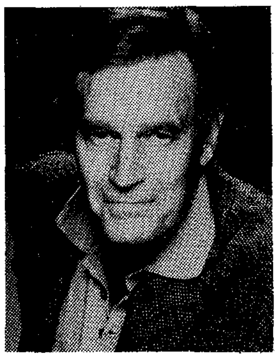
Further, *The Nation*'s editors and other malcontents have never met a Bush or a Quayle, or a Nunn, a Gore, a Bentsen, a Tsongas, a Bradley, a Rockefeller—or even a Cuomo or a Gephardt—whom they didn't deeply hate and slime with all their might. Only a Jesse Jackson or fellow Sandinista tool Tom Harkin escapes the vile *Nation*'s slings and arrows, all of which brings me to a suggestion. If Harkin were to be elected President would the U.S. foreign policy then become devoted to making the world safe for Marxism–Leninism?

Bianca Ramirez
San Diego, Calif.

Dear Miss Ramirez: If Harkin were elected, I doubt the world would be safe even for it. Cordially,
—WFB

INTRODUCTORY
$1.00 OFFER

The World's Great Philosophers *Talk To You*



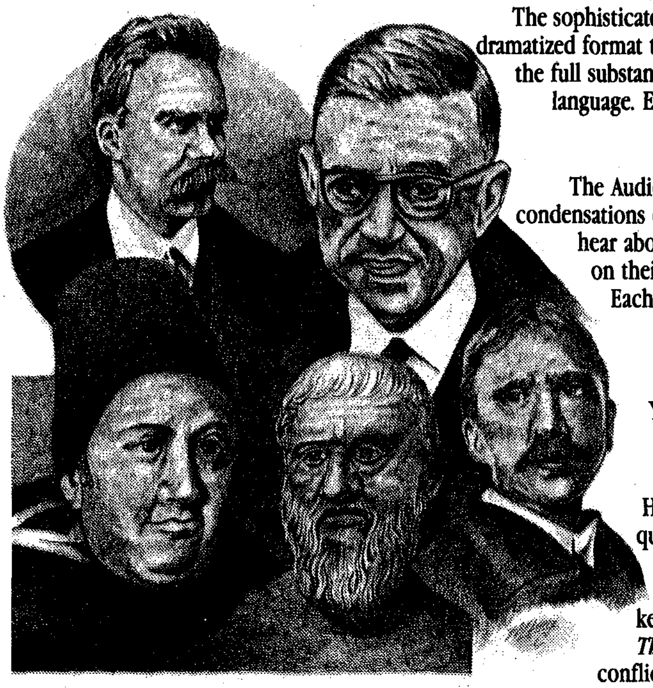
Charlton Heston Narrates *The Giants of Philosophy*

$^{1^{00}}$ Trial Offer

Every 4 weeks you'll receive almost 3 hours of enlightenment and entertainment. You can receive the first selection, *Plato,* at the special price of $1.00 plus $2.00 shipping and handling — a savings of $13.95. All selections are guaranteed, and you have the right to return the current album, for any reason, within 15 days. Try the Audio Classics to stimulate your mind, broaden your horizons, and enrich your life.

"Moderation in all things."
"I think, therefore I am."
"The unexamined life is not worth living."
"And it is this that everyone understands to be God."

In *The Giants of Philosophy,* you'll survey 13 of the world's greatest philosophers (plus others who worked with or against them). You'll see how each philosopher created a complete and coherent system of thought, including their views on ethics, metaphysics, politics and esthetics. You'll learn about their epistemology — how we know what we know. And you'll learn how each thinker related to his times and to the work of other philosophers over the centuries.



The sophisticated, complex and subtle ideas of great philosophers are now available in a dramatized format that entertains and informs. Yet like all Knowledge Products productions, the full substance and content of these ideas are presented in clear and understandable language. Each presentation invites the intelligent listener to ponder the great ideas without struggling through an academic or simplified writing style.

DRAMATIZED PRESENTATIONS

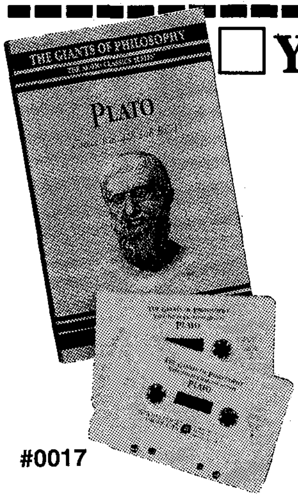
The Audio Classics are not simply readings of great books — they are dramatized condensations of philosophy, politics, economics, war, and other timeless topics. You'll hear about the lives of classic authors and great historical leaders, the influences on their work, the criticisms and praises of observers, and much more.

Each presentation combines the skill and imagination of talented actors with the narration of leading American journalists like ***Charlton Heston, Walter Cronkite, Louis Rukeyser*** and ***George C. Scott.*** The Audio Classics Series™ is an efficient, enjoyable way to acquire knowledge. You can listen to these cassettes again and again with fresh insights and renewed enjoyment each time!

THE AUDIO CLASSICS SERIES™

Hear *The Giants of Philosophy* pursue answers to life's most provocative questions. From later cassettes in the Audio Classics Series, you'll discover the insights of *The Giants of Political Thought,* relive the creation and adoption of *The U.S. Constitution* (narrated by Walter Cronkite), more keenly understand economic progress and conflict in *The Great Economic Thinkers* (narrated by Louis Rukeyser), and explore the roots of crisis and conflict in *The United States at War* (narrated by George C. Scott). Every tape in the Audio Classics Series recreates a fragment of history, brimming with the importance of our past, present and future.

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-876-4332 TO START YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TODAY!



☐ **YES!** **Send me,** for $1.00 plus $2.00 shipping and handling, *Plato,* and begin my no-risk subscription to the Audio Classics Listening Library. I will recieve an album of two cassettes every month, and you'll charge my credit card $14.95 plus $2 shipping and handling ($6 outside the U.S.) for each album. If I'm ever displeased, I have the right to return the current album within 15 days and owe nothing. I may drop out of the program at any time without penalty. Sales tax must be added for residents of TN and IL.

Introductory Offer $1.00

Name________________________________

Address______________________________

City________________ State________ Zip________

☐ Charge my credit card.

☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa ☐ American Express

____
EXPIRATION DATE

____
ACCOUNT NUMBER

____
SIGNATURE

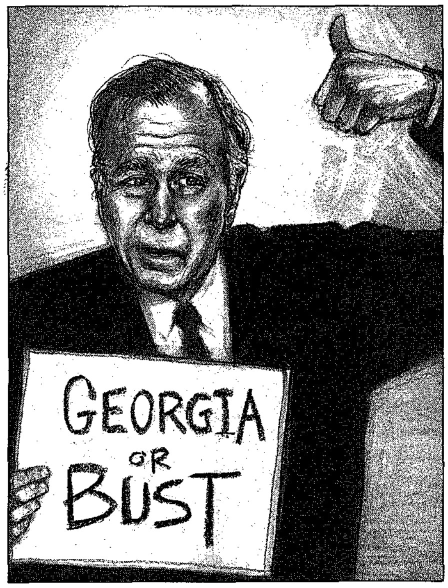
#0017

KNOWLEDGE® PRODUCTS Customer Service Center • Box 305151 • Nashville, TN 37230

ON THE SCENE

The B Team

WILLIAM McGURN



Janet Hamlin

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR THIS Lent I resolve not to write about the apparently inexhaustible capacity for folly of the George Bush re-election effort. Not because doing so would be unfair or un-Christian, mind you. But because, given the provocations, I regard abstaining from comment as a suitably testing penance.

Fortunately, the Lord scheduled a late Easter this year, which means that New Hampshire and the immediate aftermath are not covered by my vow. Although Pat Buchanan's ultimate tally turned out to be well under the 40 per cent originally reported, he clearly emerged the victor. Over the course of the following week Bushies from all parts of the campaign machine took pains to get the message across on the tube, over radio, and in print that the President had in fact come in first. But the pains taken only underscored the point: any time you have to explain a victory, you've lost.

This problem will not go away soon, because it is both a result of and a reaction to a schizophrenic Bush campaign. On the one hand there are people working hard to get Bush elected to a second term. Less obvious are those who would like Bush elected to a second term but are more interested in defending the first one. Candidate Bush speaks to both sides of this campaign, conceding that "I understand the message of dissatisfaction" but then asserting that "This President has done a good job." It has not yet dawned on him that these are mutually exclusive propositions, and not least among the reasons for the public's anger is that he appears so little concerned about the gap between his rhetoric and his performance. With Budget Director Richard Darman still in place killing off any real economic reform and campaign chairman Bob Teeter heading a team that doesn't think such reform necessary to re-election, we have an Administration that still does not know how to respond to Buchanan because it doesn't know what hit it.

"What you run into around here is anger and befuddlement," says one senior Administration official. "All these people are asking themselves, 'Why is Buchanan doing this?' You want to explain to them, 'He's doing it because he wants to rid the Republican Party of the whole lot of you.'"

This distance between the Bushies and the GOP rank-and-file is illustrated by the different kinds of money coming into the Bush and Buchanan campaigns. In November and December, a fundraising letter mailed to the known donor list from the three committees (the Republican National Committee, the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and the National Republican Congressional Committee) actually lost money, unprecedented with a sitting GOP President and certainly in sharp contrast to the fundraising efforts for Ronald Reagan's re-election. By contrast, while upstart Pat Buchanan has not been able to raise nearly the same amount of money Bush has, he has raised it more economically and is pulling in more of the small contributors, meaning that he has a popular base (good for getting volunteers) while Bush depends on fat cats. Indeed, of the $14.3 million Bush has raised, only $2.6 million has been matched by the FEC, because matching funds are limited to contributions under $250.

The choice of people assigned to returning Bush to the White House does nothing to bridge that gap. The B Team is led by a troika that includes former Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher (now general chairman of the campaign), Fred Malek (campaign manager), and pollster Teeter (campaign chairman and chief political strategist). These in turn are supported by a second tier that includes political director Mary Matalin, an Atwater protégée and former chief of staff at the Republican National Committee, and consultant Charles Black and RNC chief Rich Bond, both senior advisors. Whatever strengths the team may have, its only concession to the thought that campaigns may be about ideas is the inclusion of James Pinkerton, author of the "new paradigm," over at the 15th Street headquarters. In other words, these are the same folks who brought us the Dick Thornburgh disaster, blowing the biggest lead of any candidate in history.

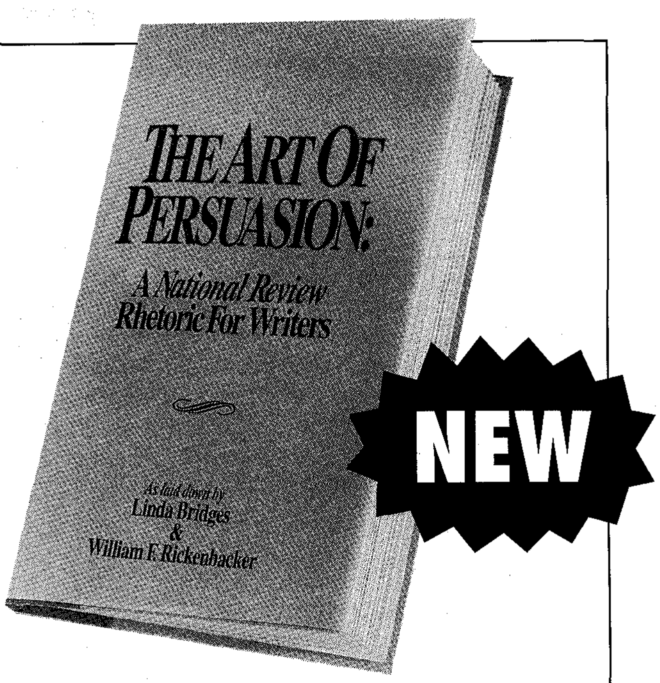
In their own ways most of these people are extremely competent. Mosbacher can raise loads of money from fat-cat Republicans like himself. Malek is a businessman whom everyone likes. Teeter, who excites almost as much distrust as Darman, is, excluding his political advice, a savvy pollster. Rich Bond is probably the best political operative in the business, and even Mary Matalin, of whom conservatives are strongly suspicious on the social issues, also is a good operative.

Like their boss, however, these campaigners are all deficient in "the vision thing." Over the last two months, they have been making that painfully evident. To Bob Mosbacher's credit, he at least seemed to realize it, lamenting

---

Mr. McGurn is NR*'s Washington Bureau Chief.*

Read.
Read this book.
Read this book and you won't write like this.



Announcing:

The Art of Persuasion: A National Review Rhetoric for Writers

The new, groundbreaking manual on how to add panache to your prose. Get your first-run edition now directly from NATIONAL REVIEW for just $19.95.

> *"Readers of this book will improve themselves about that which matters most (Aristotle did define human beings as the language-using animals), and will smile all the while. Furthermore, this wise and funny book may rescue the idea of rhetoric from the faint taste of disreputableness that now attaches to it."*
>
> —GEORGE F. WILL

> *Bridges and Rickenbacker are "free-spirited teachers" who "take us on a romp through Writing 401. This is no primer for beginners. This is the stuff of graduate school, the way graduate school ought to be."*
>
> —JAMES J. KILPATRICK

At long last, a *real* guide to writing, from the very magazine that's renowned for its stylishness. Bursting with simple, sensible, concrete techniques to improved writing, **The Art of Persuasion**—"laid down" by *NR*'s own Linda Bridges and William F. Rickenbacker—is definitely something you'll want to have, for yourself and/or that kinsman, friend, student or business associate.

Sure, there are already dozens of manuals that have claimed (for *years*) to teach you how to write. But here at NATIONAL REVIEW, we see what they've wrought: a large percentage of current high school students who can *barely* write letters, a generation of college graduates (and some professors!) whose prose is often impenetrable and torturous (never mind ungrammatical!), etc.

So *NR* decided to create something long overdue: a *useful* writing guide for the intelligent person—who knows the grammatical rules of the language, but who has been henpecked by writing "experts" into hatching dull prose.

The result: **The Art of Persuasion**, an engaging, witty and *useful* manual that shows writers how to grab, hold, surprise, please, amuse and persuade readers, all in six stylishly written chapters (and two information-crammed appendices).

If you write—whether it be books, essays, inter-office memos, or Christmas cards—then **The Art of Persuasion** is a must-have for you. You'll find it practical, and an enjoyable read (and the hardcover edition will make a handsome addition to your book collection).

Order your copy of one of the most important books you'll ever own: simply fill out the handy coupon below and mail it back today. (Better yet, order two copies of **The Art of Persuasion** and save $7 off the full cost.)

☐ **Yes,** send me my copy of **The Art of Persuasion** at the special *NR* price of $19.95. I also enclose $2.00 to cover postage and handling.

☐ **Better yet,** send me *two* copies for the *very* special rate of $35.00 (plus only $2.00 to cover postage and handling). That saves me $7.00 off the full cost.

Mail copies to:

Name

Address

City State Zip

(Canadian and all other foreign orders, please add $4.00 U.S. currency for shipping and handling.)

Mail to: **National Review, Art of Persuasion,**
150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

31692

at one point Lee Atwater's absence and suggesting that Bush needs to get in touch with some real people. Certainly his wife, Georgette, hasn't helped in this department. The *Washington Post* gossip column reported a conversation with Mrs. Mosbacher at the Jockey Club, where understanding friends lamented that she had been reduced to driving around in an American-made Jeep Cherokee. "Oh I know," she is quoted as saying. "I can't wait until this campaign is over so I can say, 'Bob, open the garage and get out the Maserati. Open the safe and get out the jewels.'"

Ditto with Fred Malek. About the first thing that came out after he was named to the campaign was the number of large donations he has made to prominent Democrats (Dianne Feinstein in California, Tim Wirth in Colorado, Frank Lautenberg in New Jersey). Most people say they like Malek, but they also describe him as a fish out of water. One of the first things he said after being named by Bush was that he didn't really know anything about politics, and no one has contradicted him. As for poor Charles Black, he is thought of as the man who can keep the Right quiet by people who never understand why it's making noise.

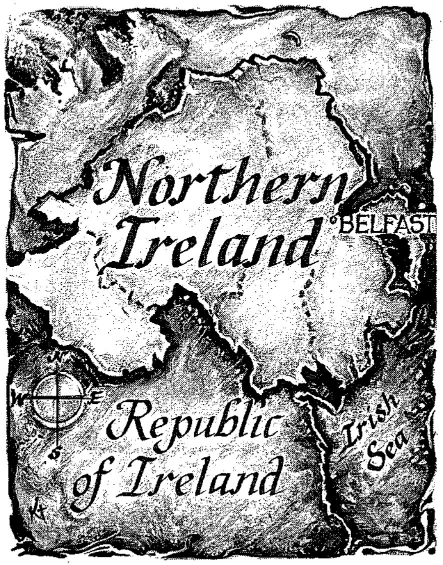
But the guiding light of the campaign is Bob Teeter. Now, candidates need pollsters as much as armies need cooks, but you don't see many cooks who make it to general. No doubt about Teeter's brains—a Nexis search tells me that the reporters' favorite adjective is "encyclopedic"—but he does rather confirm the old Philosophy 101 distinction between knowledge and wisdom. As top pollster for Bush, Teeter was quite right in telling him early on in his Presidency that most of those who voted for him didn't really believe he'd keep his "no new taxes" pledge. But from this he concluded that Bush should confirm these uneasy suspicions by breaking it. "A lot of conservatives believe that Teeter is really a liberal," says a Republican campaign committee member who has worked closely with him. "But that gives him too much credit for having an agenda. To Bob Teeter it's all a debate between Fab and Tide."

Right now official thinking is that an attack on Pat Buchanan will do the trick. But this again implies a gross misreading of the problem. Buchanan represents a protest vote, and attacking him, as former NRCC chief Ed Rollins says, won't make the protest go away. Instead, what Bush needs to do is steal Buchanan's issues back from him, and the place to do that is not on the campaign trail but in Washington itself. So long as the Administration thinks the problem is communication rather than credibility, it will be doomed to miscalculation. Bush's complaint that Buchanan is "lying" about him—based on a perfectly legitimate Buchanan ad scoring Bush for dropping his family tax exemption from a list of priorities—calls up unpleasant images of Bob Dole's whining about Bush in 1988.

In fact, the best strategy for Bush is not to get out on the road for the next primaries, but to stay in Washington holding Congress's feet to the fire on his March 20 deadline for an economic package. Right now, however, Hill Republicans report that there is no White House effort to line up GOP lawmakers for any such thing. And instead of getting back to the conservative base of the Republican Party, the campaign continues to alienate it—as witness Mosbacher's recent meeting with the militant National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. "Everyone here thinks the problem is that people are starting to believe Pat Buchanan," says one White House staffer, "when the real problem is that they no longer believe George Bush." ☐

A Nice Place to Visit . . .

ANDREW GIMSON



Katherine Trunk

BELFAST

NORTHERN Ireland is an excellent place to go on holiday. The people are some of the staunchest and most civil in the world. Much of the coastline is miraculously beautiful. Above all, there aren't many tourists.

Except political tourists, who put the others off by sending home tales of barbarism. The political sector of the industry has flourished since the late Sixties, when the present troubles broke out. It declined in the first half of the Eighties (when the number of deaths from terrorism fell to a quarter of the level of a decade before), but has since revived.

Special events are arranged for political tourists. On the night I arrived in Belfast, there was a controlled explosion outside my hotel, a scruffy establishment near Queen's University called the York, in order to prevent a four-hundred-pound IRA bomb from going off.

The following morning I walked round the corner to Sean Graham's betting shop in the Ormeau Road. It was shut. A pile of half-wilted flowers lay on the pavement outside, in memory of five Roman Catholic civilians who were murdered when two Protestant gunmen walked in. A wounded survivor said: "It was like a butcher's shop in there. There was blood everywhere. They just came in and opened up on everybody."

This atrocity was committed in revenge for the massacre by the IRA of eight Protestant workmen in County Tyrone the previous month. There have been over thirty deaths from terrorism this year, worse than in any equivalent period since 1976. It is worth bearing in mind that the population of Northern Ireland is only 1.5 million.

To get to my next appointment, I took a taxi driven by an ardent nationalist. He claimed the British government would have to start talking to

---

Mr. Gimson is a novelist and freelance journalist.

Enjoy all your favorite columns – every week!

A Great Gift Idea!

At Last There is One Source

James Kilpatrick

•Challenging opinions by 54 National Columnists and Cartoonists

CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE

$1.50

Hampton, Iowa

Vol. 5, Number 24

Prescription to cure an ailing economy

Page 26

For quick reference to all articles, turn to TOPIC INDEX on page 1.

BUSH
ECONOMIC RECOVERY

William Safire

How can you get all of the nation's top conservative columnists and your favorite cartoonists every week?

You could buy** over a dozen metro newspapers, or subscribe to the publication that has them all – the **Conservative Chronicle.

William Buckley

If you want to know what all the nation's finest conservative minds are saying about the Middle East crisis, terrorism, the Supreme Court, defense spending, obscenity issues, educational reform and individual rights ... now there is one convenient source – the ***Conservative Chronicle***!

Every week, read the distinguished columnists shown plus Oliver North, Mona Charen, Thomas Sowell, Paul Harvey, Edward Grimsley, William Rusher, Suzanne Fields, Evans & Novak, Andy Seamans, Walter Williams, Charley Reese – more than **28** nationally-respected columnists and **26** cartoonists with conservative appeal.

And it's all in an easy-to-handle format! You'll also enjoy the wit and humor of the ***Conservative Chronicle's*** featured cartoonists, including Jeff McNelly, Dick Wright, Steve Kelly, Mike Shelton, Jerry Barnett, Bill DeOre and Henry Payne.

All 52 issues are yours for only $39.00! Cancel at any time – for any reason – and get a full refund on unmailed copies. Get the complete story. Don't miss this great line-up of conservative thinkers. Call **toll-free 1-800-888-3039** or mail our coupon and take advantage of this exceptional value!

George Will

Jeane Kirkpatrick

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE

PATRICK BUCHANAN

GOP forfeited its opportunity

TOPIC INDEX

Conservative Chronicle
Box 11297-NR, Des Moines, IA 50340-1297

Yes, *I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for $39.00 (add $25.00 for foreign postage). I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.*

Payment: ☐ Check ☐ Bill me ☐ VISA ☐ MC

Card # ______________________ Exp. date ________

Name ____________________________________

Address ______________________ Apt. # ______

City ____________________ State ____ Zip ________

the IRA, who, he said, represented the Irish people's views much more accurately than the party of constitutional nationalism in the North, the SDLP.

I said this was interesting, but, if true, why did the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, gain such a derisory vote (in low single figures) in elections in the Irish Republic? The taxi driver agreed with sadness that this was so: "Nobody's got a good deal of confidence in the Republic. To be honest with you, I think they're sitting on their hands. They don't really want anything to do with us."

From my own visits to Dublin, I can confirm this to be the case. People in the South retain a strong emotional attachment to a united Ireland, and their constitution still lays claim to the whole island, but most of them would be horrified if they looked like getting it. As early as 1974, the then Prime Minister of the Republic, Liam Cosgrave, observed that violence in the North was "killing the desire for unity."

Even if the British withdrew, it is improbable that unity would result. There would, instead, be a civil war in the North which would make the present trouble look trivial, and would probably destabilize the whole island. That apart, Southerners have two other motives for hostility to a united Ireland. One is that in order to accommodate a million Northern Protestants, the Irish Republic would have to become a much less Roman Catholic and (would-be) Gaelic state. The other is that the North's economy would collapse without the large annual subsidies paid by Britain.

So Irish unity is in practice out of the question, however logical it may seem to politicians in London or Washington. This is disappointing for Northern nationalists, but their distress is mirrored by the sense of betrayal felt by unionists.

For if Dublin does not want Northern Ireland, neither does London. The province's unionists know that the British government wishes, in its heart of hearts, it could wriggle out of its obligation to maintain the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. London and Dublin are at one in wanting to have as little to do with the place as they decently can.

For the unionists, the most grievous betrayal in recent years was the signing, in November 1985, of the Anglo-Irish Agreement between London and Dublin, which for the first time gave the Republic a formal, albeit largely nominal, say in the affairs of the North. The unionists' political leaders, supported by a clear majority of the province's population, were implacably opposed to this development. They were ignored.

The message to unionists was clear. Political activity was useless. The British government had introduced the Agreement as a concession to constitutional nationalism, because behind the nationalists lay a group of dedicated terrorists, the IRA. The unionist cause would have to receive similar backing or it would remain disregarded.

The Agreement promotes such calculations by terrorists on both sides, and must therefore be blamed for the marked resurgence of violence since 1985. It is a fatally ambiguous document which tries to satisfy the aspirations of nationalists and unionists, and therefore satisfies neither. A middle-class unionist told me it was "gutless, mealy-mouthed, a constitutional monstrosity, like giving the Mexican government a formal say in the affairs of California."

He added it was a pity the British Army had arrived (at the request of the Irish Republic and Northern nationalists) in August 1969, or the Protestants could have finished the Roman Catholics off. This is chilling talk, and the liberal men who framed the Agreement did not hear enough of it, or if they heard did not listen. They tried to devise a middle way where none can exist; to reconcile territorial claims which are mutually exclusive; to impose a liberal solution on two intensely conservative peoples.

Perhaps the strangest aspect of the Agreement is that Margaret Thatcher signed it. Who better than she to convince members of the IRA that their violence is futile (and Protestant terrorists that their violence is unnecessary) because Northern Ireland is going to remain part of the United Kingdom? Who better than she to stand up to the ignorant international protests which would have resulted?

The Irish Prime Minister who signed the Agreement, Garret FitzGerald, has recently published his memoirs, in which he recalls persuading her that "doing nothing" about Northern Ireland would be worse than "attempting an initiative, however risky." This assertion appealed to her activist temperament. She decided to do something—and did the wrong thing. No matter that a year before, in Brighton, the IRA had nearly murdered her. She imagined such mortal enemies could be dealt with by making friendly noises to the constitutional nationalists.

One of her closest political friends, the Conservative MP Ian Gow, was among the few members of the British political classes to realize the Agreement would lead to more killing, not less. When it was concluded, he resigned from the government in protest. Mr. FitzGerald recalls that this was "a serious personal blow" to Mrs. Thatcher, but Mr. Gow was dismissed in most quarters as "a romantic unionist," a man out of touch with reality. The IRA disagreed. Some time later, it murdered him.

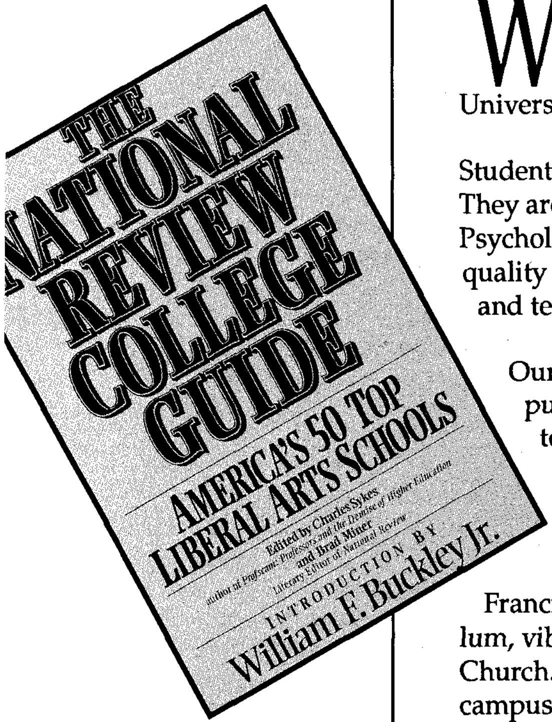
ANYONE who talks of "solving" the conflict in Northern Ireland is out of touch with reality. The British government continues trying to "solve" it by persuading the two sides to share power in a sort of bogus local democracy, a policy which has failed for two hundred years and will continue to fail. As for the British Labour Party, it favors a united Ireland by consent—as if the majority in the North ever would consent. Meanwhile the province's Unionist MPs hope that their 13 votes in the House of Commons will, if the forthcoming general election is inconclusive, give them greater bargaining power than at present.

Although the conflict cannot be solved, there are better and worse policies for dealing with it. In practice, the British government will not withdraw from the North, because it will not tolerate the development of another Lebanon or Yugoslavia on its doorstep. It should therefore make a virtue of doing the honorable thing and staying, in accordance with the clear wishes of the majority in the province, while taking all possible measures to safeguard the minority's rights under the law.

I was not, incidentally, joking when I suggested you go on holiday in Northern Ireland. The talk in Irish bars, North and South, is the best in the world, and the terrorists aren't interested in tourists. □

Franciscan University of Steubenville

A Liberal Arts Education with Dynamic Orthodoxy and Vibrant Christian Spirituality


THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE

AMERICA'S 50 TOP LIBERAL ARTS SCHOOLS

Edited by Charles Sykes
author of Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education
and Brad Miner
Literary Editor of National Review

INTRODUCTION BY
William F. Buckley Jr.

What do prestigious publications such as the *National Review, Barron's* and *U.S. News & World Report* have in common? They all agree Franciscan University of Steubenville offers a quality Catholic Liberal Arts education.

Students are attracted to the affirming spirituality of the University campus. They are also drawn by solid academic programs such as Theology, Philosophy, Psychology, History and Political Science. The *National Catholic Register* noted the quality of the faculty and the ability of the University to attract "first-rate scholars and teachers."

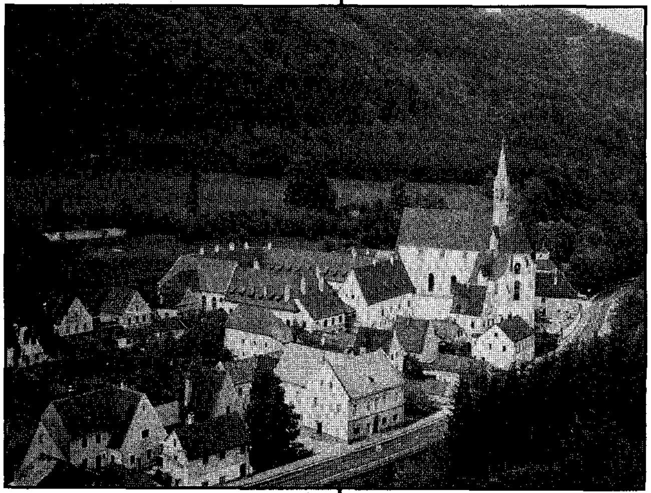
Our undergraduates can also spend a semester abroad at our Austrian campus. Students study in a newly renovated 14th century Carthusian monastery that rests in the small village of Gaming in the foothills of the Alps. Learning in the heart of Europe, close to Vienna, Salzburg, Berlin and other cultural centers, Western Civilization comes alive.

Templeton Foundation Honor Roll For Character Building Colleges recognizes Franciscan University for its "dynamic orthodoxy," strong Liberal Arts curriculum, vibrant Christian spirituality, and the authentic teaching of the Catholic Church. A psychology major put it succinctly, "The minute people walk onto this campus, they know that it has been set apart to be a place of academic and spiritual growth."

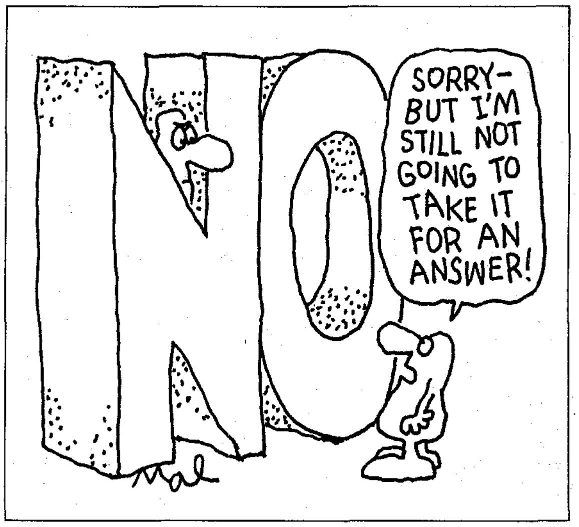
Franciscan University
of Steubenville

Steubenville, Ohio 43952-6701

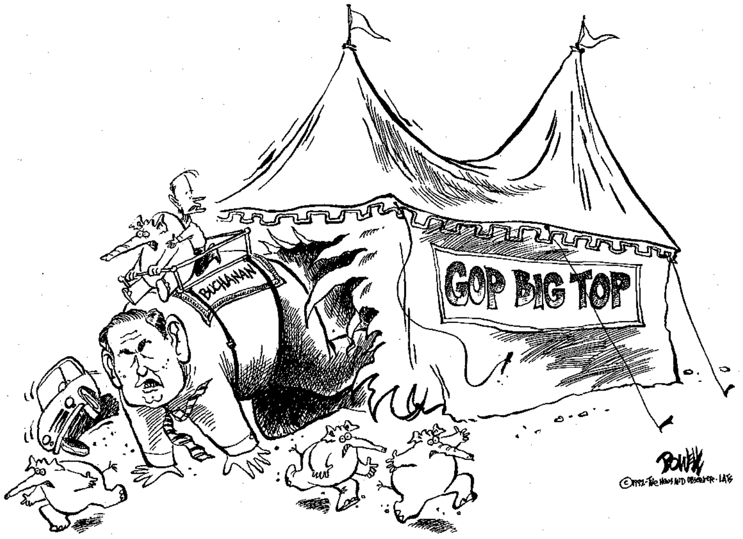
Call our toll free number today!
(800) 783-6220 or (614) 283-6226.


Franciscan University of Steubenville's Austrian campus.

help


NO
SORRY- BUT I'M STILL NOT GOING TO TAKE IT FOR AN ANSWER!
Mal

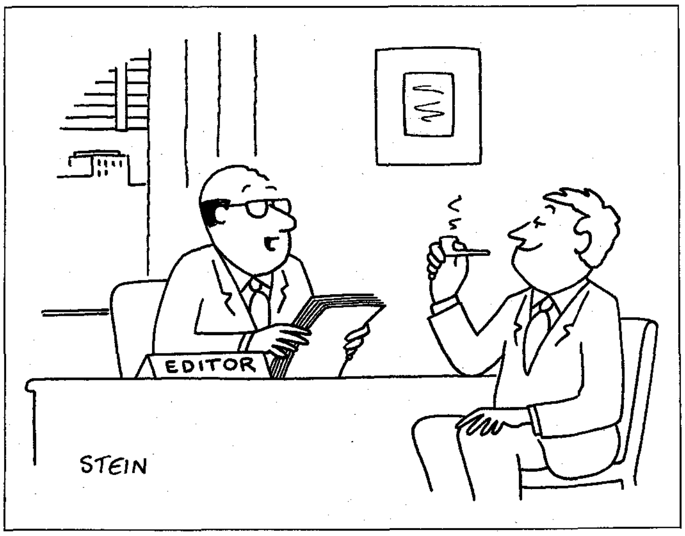
© 1992 Mal Ent., Inc.


BUCHANAN
GOP BIG TOP

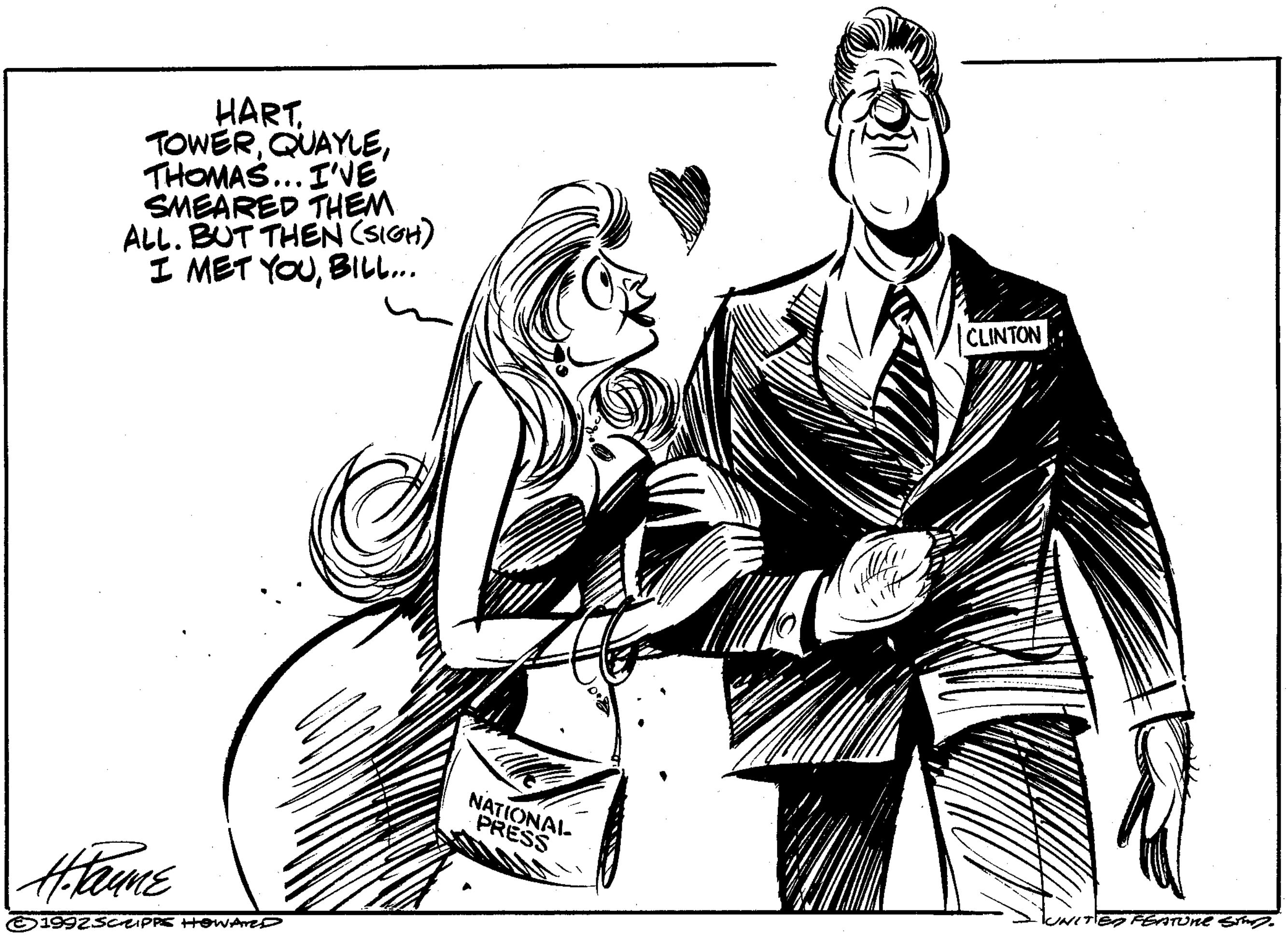
Desperate Democrats

As the five exhaust themselves
Like a bunch of weary elves
Stringing lights for Christmas trees,
Chairman Brown is on his knees
Trying to reactivate
Just one party heavyweight.

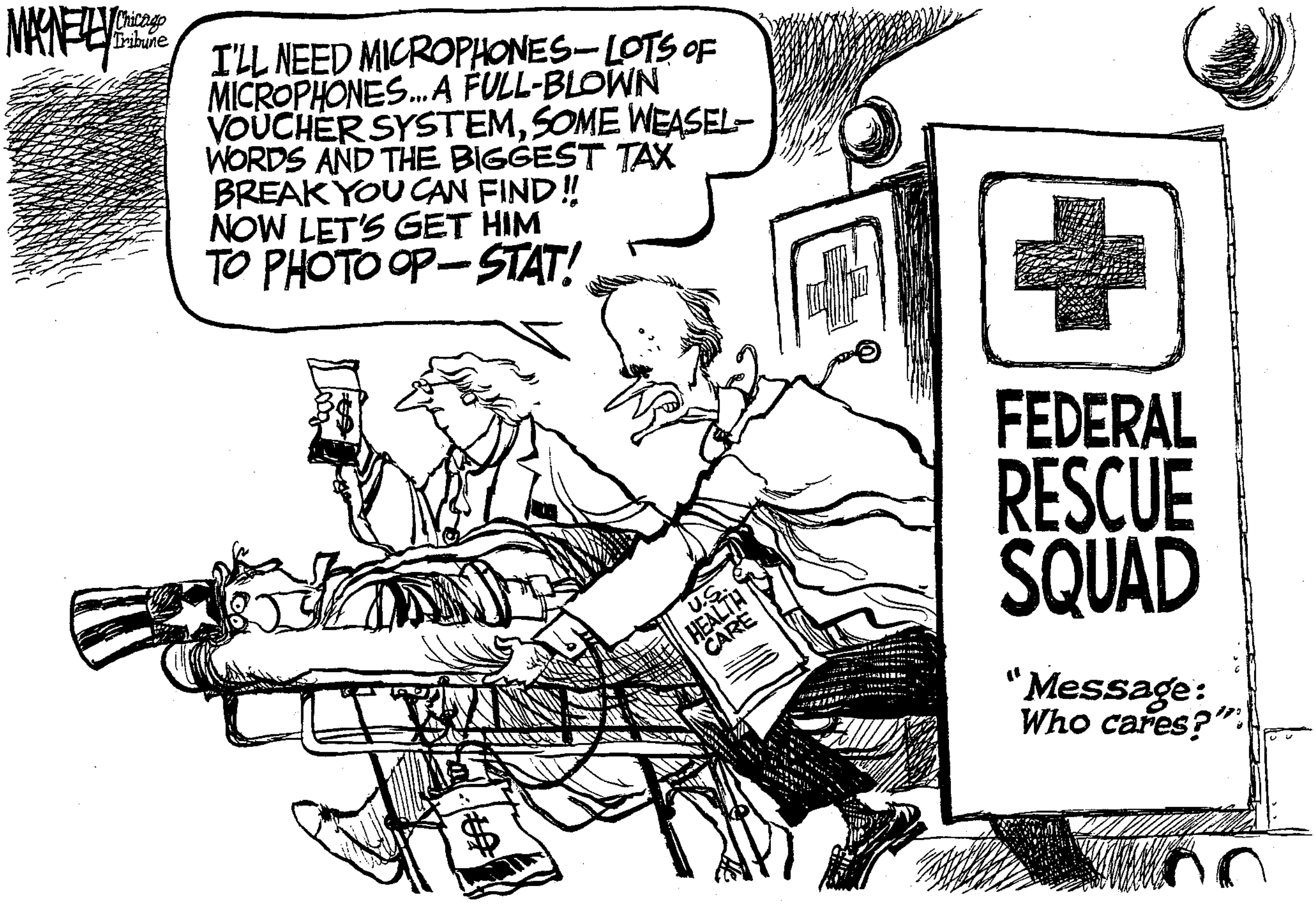
W. H. VON DREELE


EDITOR
STEIN

"Beautiful. I like the way you straddle the fine line between muckraking and mudslinging."


HART, TOWER, QUAYLE, THOMAS... I'VE SMEARED THEM ALL. BUT THEN (SIGH) I MET YOU, BILL...
CLINTON
NATIONAL PRESS
H. Payne

©1992 SCRIPPS HOWARD — UNITED FEATURE SYND.


MacNelly Chicago Tribune
I'LL NEED MICROPHONES — LOTS OF MICROPHONES... A FULL-BLOWN VOUCHER SYSTEM, SOME WEASEL-WORDS AND THE BIGGEST TAX BREAK YOU CAN FIND!! NOW LET'S GET HIM TO PHOTO OP — STAT!
$
U.S. HEALTH CARE
$
FEDERAL RESCUE SQUAD
"Message: Who cares?"

Could Chris Evert, Jascha Heifetz and the crew of the Pistol Packin' Mama come to your home tonight?

Announcing the NATIONAL REVIEW VIDEO LIBRARY, a singular theater of ideas, entertainment, history and personal development—the "best of the best" video programs for your permanent collection.

1. COMMUNISM'S COLLAPSE
Witness again one of the most important events of our time, from the tearing down of the Berlin Wall to the early independence movements in Poland and Russia. Belongs in every library. **Fall of Communism.** 1 video: $19.98

2. WORLD WAR II, REVISITED
A "must" for everyone who wants to know more about the major war of the 20th century. This award-winning series features interviews with WWII veterans, combined with rare combat footage: *Pistol Packin' Mama, the Missions of a B-17; The Fighting 17, The Jolly Rogers (Solomon Islands) 1942-1943; 17th Airborne, the Bulge to the Rhine; Peleliu 1944: Horror in the Pacific.* Note to parents: Some profanity, sexual references. **Men at War.** 4-video library: $89.95

3. VINTAGE HITCHCOCK
For the first time, newly-restored versions of Alfred Hitchcock's film masterpieces, *The 39 Steps* and *The Lady Vanishes,* are available on video cassettes—plus a fascinating account of Alfred's early British career.
The Hitchcock Collection.
3-video library: $79.99

4. PAVAROTTI ON OPERA
Listen and watch Pavarotti as he sings arias by Mozart, Puccini and Verdi to train future stars of the opera world. "Almost everything you ever wanted to know about the art of opera singing ...superbly entertaining." *NY Times.*
Pavarotti Master Class at Juilliard.
1 video: $29.95

5. JASCHA HEIFETZ TEACHES THE VIOLIN
Imagine having your children attend Heifetz's legendary master classes (originally conducted at USC in the 60s). They'll learn phrasing, intonation and more—from the gifted hands of a brilliant musician.
The Heifetz Master Classes.
2-video (b&w) library: $79.95

6. THE INCREDIBLE TIMES AND MUSIC OF VERDI
Enjoy a whole week of Verdi in this epic (10-hour) biography highlighted by excerpts from *Aida, Rigoletto, Othello* and *La Traviata*—sung by Maria Callas, Renata Tebaldi, Luciano Pavarotti and Birgit Nilsson.
The Life of Verdi. 4-video library: $124.95

SUMMER WARM-UPS

7. LEARN WINNING TENNIS WITH CHRIS EVERT
Her first and only video instruction program, a best seller. Chris demonstrates each winning serve and return you can use to flummox your opponent. Great birthday gift for every tennis fan.
Chris Evert Winning Tennis Collection.
3-video library and training guide: $149.95

8. PAR BREAKING TIPS FROM A RECORD BREAKER
In 1977 Al Geiberger set a PGA "59" record never equalled. Since then he's helped 50,000 golfers lower their handicaps using SyberVision®'s muscle memory training techniques.
Golf with Al Geiberger. 1 video, four audio cassettes, training guide: $89.95

9. LEARN PATTY SHEEHAN'S GOLF SECRETS
This 26-time LPGA champion shows you how you can duplicate her stroke-slashing form.
Patty Sheehan Golf. 1 video, 4 audio cassettes, training guide: $89.95

10. SEE BALLET WITH NEW EYES!
Increase your enjoyment by watching the principal dancers of the world's leading ballet companies demonstrate dozens of variations of French, Russian and Cecchetti styles—many shown in slow motion from different camera angles.
Visual Dictionary of Classical Ballet.
2-video library: $99.95

11. RICHARD BURTON AS WAGNER
This nine-hour epic recreates the life of one of the world's great composers. Also stars Sir Laurence Olivier and Sir John Gielgud with Wagner's music conducted by George Solti. An enduring classic.
Wagner: The Complete Epic.
4-video library: $124.95

12. TURN YOUR CHILDREN INTO OPERA BUFFS
For their life-long pleasure. Ignite their interest with excerpts from *Faust, Rigoletto, Daughter of the Regiment, Barber of Seville* and others—performed by Joan Sutherland, the London Symphony—and four "magical" puppets who dramatize the great themes of opera.
Who's Afraid of Opera. 4-video library: $113.81

13. GREATER PRODUCTIVITY, FEWER CONFLICTS
Famous management trainer Tom Miller uses laughter and one of the most powerful psychological systems ever developed to show you how to reduce conflict, become more productive and feel better about yourself.
The Neuropsychology of Self-Discipline.
1 video, 8 audio cassettes, study guide: $89.95

★ ★ ★

A BOOST FOR YOUR LOCAL LIBRARY

For $995, you can donate a complete **National Review Video Library** (every program on this page) to a sorely-pressed public school or library. Or we will custom-design a library donation to your budget, from $50 to $5,000. A thoughtful gift or a lasting memorial to someone special, this video library can enlighten your community for years to come. Check "Library Gift" on the coupon for complete details.

TO: **NATIONAL REVIEW VIDEO LIBRARY**
150 East 35th St., New York, NY 10016

Please send the following video programs:

Order #	Title	Price

Add $3.95 shipping/handling for first program, $2 for each additional program. _____

NY State residents add sales tax _____

Enclose check or money order payable to National Review. Total $_____

Send:
☐ Free newsletter listing other video programs.
☐ Special Library Gift Form with donation details.

Name

Address

City **State** **Zip**

NATIONAL REVIEW

NATIONAL
REVIEW

CHAPTER II

In Pursuit of Anti-Semitism

The Word on/from Buchanan, Sobran,
Podhoretz, Kristol, Rosenthal, Novak,
Yoder, and Others

CHAPTER II

In Pursuit of Anti-Semitism

The Word on/from Buchanan, Sobran, Podhoretz, Kristol, Rosenthal, Novak, Yoder, and Others

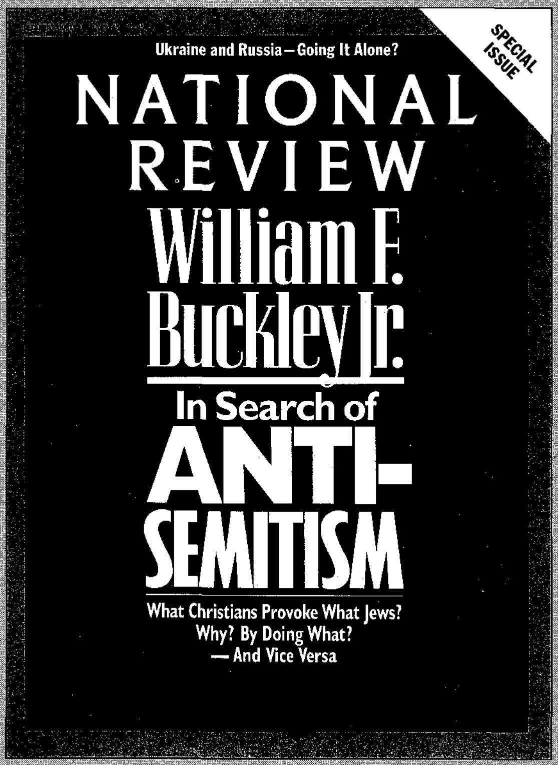
WHAT FOLLOWS is material provoked by the publication of the essay "In Search of Anti-Semitism: What Christians Provoke What Jews? Why? By Doing What?—And Vice Versa." The essay was in five parts. It attempted, by examining complaints against Joseph Sobran, Patrick Buchanan, *The Dartmouth Review*, *The Nation*, and Gore Vidal, to explore the contemporary faces of anti-Semitism and of anti-anti-Semitism. The fifth part attempted to delineate some moral and political perspectives.

What is it that John Doe actually said that gave rise to the charge that he is anti-Semitic? Did it have to do with a single utterance by Mr. Doe, or is it that Mr. Doe appears to be fixated on questions that relate primarily to Jewish interests? In the context in which Mr. Doe spoke, are we enlightened as to his purposes in speaking as he did? Is it possible that in fact Mr. Doe is not anti-Semitic (three dozen people who know him well swear to it that there isn't a bigoted bone in his body) but that those who do not know him as John, but need to make judgments based on what he says and writes as John Doe, plausibly think him to be anti-Semitic? In such a situation, what can Mr. Doe do to efface the impression he has made, which impression he wishes he had not made? Or does he care?

Is one's attitude toward Israel a reliable index of one's attitude toward Jews? Many writers have complained that opposition to Israel is regularly misinterpreted as betraying anti-Semitic sentiment. Some Jewish writers and thinkers will say that to criticize policies of the government of Israel isn't anti-Semitic, but to question the right of Israel to exist may and probably is motivated by hostility to Jews. When such questions arise, the job becomes to scrutinize the way in which hostility to Israel is expressed, in an effort to reason to whether that hostility is probably motivated by generic opposition to any corporate Jewish purpose. Why should the effort be made? Because the reaches of anti-Semitism are an all but contemporary memory.

The essay brought in a great deal of commentary. We received about two hundred letters, and the ratio was 3 to 1 critical of the essay. Many of these criticisms, however, were based on the presidential candidacy of Pat Buchanan (For heaven's sakes, why get in the way of a genuine protest candidate?), notwithstanding that we had made it plain that the essay was written before Mr. Buchanan announced his candidacy. Some critics seemed to be saying that because he decided to enter the race, we should therefore have put off publication of an essay in the research and writing of which almost an entire summer was spent. Some readers complained that I had not got around actually to defining anti-Semitism. That is formally correct, I did not: though I thought it pretty plain that a definition crystallized in what I said, and in the language I quoted. Anti-Semitism has different energy levels. One reader wrote that he defined anti-Semitism as a dislike or disapproval a) even of Jews one has never met and b) of any corporate objectives identifiable as of special concern to prominent and vociferous Jews—a pretty good definition, which would account for the casual anti-Semitism of someone who reacts in opposition to whatever organized Jewry is seen to be up to because organized Jewry desires that end. The manifestations are many and varied. They are sometimes signaled in that little exclamation, the single comment direct or oblique, the blurt, the cocked eyebrow, which can be the equivalent of addressing an uppity Negro in the old South as "Snowball."

WHY SHOULD we care? The subject is important for moral as well as intellectual and analytical reasons. The Holocaust is one of the great nightmares of history, and just as the Catholic Church has spent a hundred years agonizing over the Spanish Inquisition, it is inevitable that the poisoned wells that generated Auschwitz should continue under microscopic scrutiny by those who do not understand, but seek to do so, how the anti-Semitism of the Twenties and Thirties, largely social and cultural, metastasized into the Holocaust. Might such lackadaisical anti-Semitism have been the culture impregnated by the "scientific racism" of such as Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, itself an atheistic bastard child of late-nineteenth-century rationalism? The essay declares that Auschwitz has now become, so to speak, a senior citizen: Most present-day Germans were not even alive when the ovens were working. What they and others are left with is a historical memory, even as we have a historical memory of the age of slavery. That memory enjoins careful supervision of undisciplined thought and commentary. On the other hand, if we are intimidated by unreasoned or opportunistic denunciations, useful thought is impossible.



Ukraine and Russia—Going It Alone?

SPECIAL ISSUE

NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr.

In Search of ANTI-SEMITISM

What Christians Provoke What Jews?
Why? By Doing What?
—And Vice Versa

Our critics addressed these and other themes. They were columnists, editorial writers, academicians, clergymen, and of course NATIONAL REVIEW's great body of readers. We reproduce some of this material. A word about what criteria I used in deciding what to publish in space that accommodates less than one-tenth of the volume of commentary the essay generated:

We have given first priority to persons specifically named in the essay. Joe Sobran comes in with a vigorous essay taking vigorous exception to my own. I comment, in turn, on his, which appears in full. Patrick Buchanan was invited to respond, but pleaded the burden of his political engagements. President James Freedman of Dartmouth, heavily criticized in the essay, has not written, nor has Gore Vidal, to defend his essay in *The Nation*, a magazine also criticized.

Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary*, figures prominently in the essay. He published a six-page "Open Letter to William F. Buckley Jr." in the February issue of his magazine, and it is substantially reproduced here. Irving Kristol, heavily quoted in the essay, addressed a letter to us which is important if only because he wrote it. William Pfaff, the syndicated columnist, who writes from Paris, undertakes to clear up a misunderstanding in the essay which he attributes to Mr. Podhoretz. So do columnists Edwin Yoder and Robert Novak. A. M. Rosenthal of the *New York Times* gave his opinions in his column and in a supplementary letter. Alan Dershowitz is the author and professor of law at Harvard; David Frum is an assistant editor on the *Wall Street Journal*'s editorial page. Eliot Cohen is Director of Strategic Studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University, he is a strategist whose name appears on the mastheads of both *The New Republic* and NATIONAL REVIEW. Manfred Weidhorn is a professor of English literature. Professor Hugh Kenner's views were solicited. Henry Hyde, the prominent conservative representative from Illinois, has also written for *NR*. John Roche's syndicated column appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW for several years, until he discontinued it; he is a prominent author and political scientist, and was a sometime aide to President Lyndon Johnson. Jeff Nelligan was an associate at NATIONAL REVIEW; currently, he is a speechwriter at the Agency for International Development. Eric Alterman is Senior Fellow of the World Policy Institute. Professor Christopher Ricks of Oxford is currently teaching literature at Harvard; he is the author of *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*. We are grateful to other writers we have quoted, and of course to all those who wrote (well, practically all those who wrote).

I most deeply regret that there simply isn't time to answer the letters that flowed in, and stormed in.

—WFB

1. An Essay by Joseph Sobran

With Commentary by WFB

WHEN A MAN shouts "Wolf!" it's not really necessary to remind us that the wolf is a dangerous animal, or to inform us that its Latin name is *Canis lupus*, or to discourse on its breeding and migratory patterns. We just want to know if there's really a wolf there. And if we can find no trace of a wolf, it may be helpful to know whether the man doing all the yelling uses the word "wolf" to include, say, terriers and spaniels.

The uninitiated reader, seeing the title of Bill Buckley's essay, "In Search of Anti-Semitism," might assume he was going to read about what most people mean by anti-Semitism: anti-Jewish mythologies, racial theories, vandalism, legal discrimination, cross-burnings, riots, mass expulsions, expropriations, persecutions, lynchings, massacres, and genocide—or, at the very least, the snobbish exclusion of Jews from polite society.

That reader might be surprised to find that Bill isn't writing about any of these things, or even their advocacy. He's hardly writing about anti-Semitism at all.

He is actually writing about charges of anti-Semitism—charges leveled against a few journalists, charges made in the context of disagreement over Israel, charges that have the odor of political ideology about them. And though he announces that he will examine both sides ("What Christians Provoke What Jews? . . . And Vice Versa"), the "Vice Versa" never really shows up. He doesn't even provide us with a helpful definition of anti-Semitism for purposes of evaluating the charges.

Bill's whole essay has a curious tone. It's as if a particularly scrupulous judge were presiding at a show trial, without realizing that the verdict had been decided in advance.

Throughout the chapters on Pat Buchanan and me, Bill seems to take for granted the good faith and sanity of our accusers. They are never put on the witness stand for cross-examination. The entire burden of proof seems to be on the accused, even though the accusation remains vague. (John O'Sullivan's attempt to paraphrase the charge is tellingly nebulous: Pat and I are "suspected of harboring anti-Semitic feelings." Suspected of harboring feelings?) Bill doesn't ask whether the accusers have an obvious interest of their own in discrediting critics of Israel whose arguments they can't refute on their own terms.

Worst of all, Bill never suggests any penalty for making false or loose charges of anti-Semitism. This omission makes it hard for me to credit the rest of his argument. If there's no penalty for falsely making serious charges (and all "anti-Semitism" seems to be equally serious), it's open season for slander—as, in fact, I happen to think it is. The graver the crime, the more culpable the false witness. But Bill doesn't even acknowledge this as a problem.

I submit that anyone can see that it's not only a problem in this country today, but a far more pressing problem than anti-Semitism—real anti-Semitism, that is—which has been properly discredited. In a society where Jew-hating was rife, charges of anti-Semitism would have no bite. But what, in the current atmosphere, is to discourage the Rosenthals and Podhoretzes from defaming and trying to ruin anyone who says openly that the U.S.–Israeli alliance is detrimental to this country's best interests?[*]

The chief polemical project of modern Zionism has been to forge an ideological high redefinition of anti-Semitism that puts criticism of Israel on the same plane with Nazism—as if these were merely different degrees of the same metaphysical evil. And once this bogus continuum is established, even differences of degree don't seem to matter much. The point of the devil-term is not to distinguish, but to conflate. A Buchanan somehow gets no credit for confining his supposed animus to verbal criticism of Israel; there are no venial sins in this department. On the contrary, he is attacked with as much fury as if he'd called for a nuclear first strike on Tel Aviv. Yet we all sense something unreal about the accusations: Buchanan's foes would be as amazed as his fans if he were arrested for actually harming a Jew.

Everyone heatedly denies equating "legitimate" criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism, but somehow the equation keeps popping up. Everyone makes devout obeisances to free speech on the matter, but somehow critics of Israel keep finding their careers at stake. *Time* observed recently that Buchanan had "survived" Rosenthal's attack on him. You don't have to "survive" a debate, a discussion, a difference of opinion. You only "survive" an attempt to destroy you.

Measure Israel by the same yardsticks you apply to other regimes, and you'll get more than an argument. You'll find your reputation and sources of income under attack. This has been not only Pat's and my own experience, but that of many journalists; a number of them—Fred Graham of CBS, Jeremy Levin of CNN (a former hostage in Beirut), columnists Georgie Anne Geyer and Bob Novak—have told me their stories, which usually don't reach the public. The average American has no conception of how the range of opinion about Israel in the media is constricted by backstage pressures. When I began questioning Israel's value to the U.S. as a "reliable ally" and "strategic asset," my employers, editors, and syndicate were all besieged with demands for my dismissal.

I am grateful that most of the people I write for were as firm as they were; I must specially mention the dauntless Lee Salem of Universal Press Syndicate, who politely told Richard Cohen where to get off when Cohen was calling for my head. I have some pity for those who were less firm: it can be unnerving to a civilized man to be suddenly confronted with fanaticism—in the form of people so committed to a cause as to be incapable of detachment or irony about it, unable even to imagine an alternative view of it, and possessed with a powerful urge to punish anyone who disagrees.

Such vindictive zeal is so incommensurate with the ordinary give-and-take of civil society that one hardly knows how to cope with it. Israel, as my sociologist friend Jack Cuddihy, a profound student of Jewish–Christian relations, observes, is "the issue that makes strong men tremble." Everyone in journalism knows you criticize Israel at your own risk.

---

[*] Since Bill wrote his essay, Abe Rosenthal has upped the ante by likening Pat Buchanan to David Duke, and offering a seven-point plan to stop them.

This is not a two-way street. There is no hyphenated cussword in general use to stigmatize hostility to Christianity. Popes and cardinals come in for abuse when they speak of the rights of Palestinians. Leon Wieseltier can call a cross on a convent at Auschwitz "sickening," and nobody condemns him. Norman Podhoretz doesn't hesitate to publish, in *Commentary*, long essays by Henryk Grynberg and Hyam Maccoby blaming Christianity for the Nazi extermination of millions of Jews; no uproar ensues, nobody tries to get Podhoretz fired. Israeli soldiers can beat up a priest on the West Bank, then shoot up his church during Mass, and only the Catholic press takes note. (I called attention to the story at an *NR* editorial conference; nothing came of it.) If Christians had done such a thing to a synagogue, anywhere, it would have been front-page news, everywhere. This is the "Vice Versa" Bill never gets around to discussing. In controversy over Israel, the ad-hominem argument is the norm—for one side. The motives of Israel's critics are always fair game for discussion. No matter how cogent their arguments, their inner lives become the subject of unflattering speculation. (The motives of Israel's partisans, on the other hand, are assumed to be honorable.)

Now it's one thing to reproach a man who makes an anti-Semitic argument, one that arouses or appeals to hostility toward Jews. If he argues against American aid to Israel only on the grounds that it's a Jewish state, he is in the wrong. But if he argues against such aid because he opposes foreign aid in general, or because Israel has dealt ungratefully with the U.S., or simply because Israel has *nothing to offer this country that justifies the costs of supporting it*, his argument has to be met on its own grounds, and it's irrelevant, and unfair, to accuse him of ulterior motives. Besides, those who make glib and cynical judgments about the motives of people they disagree with (and whom they have an obvious interest in discrediting) ought to be distrusted. Those who object to anti-Semitism in principle must also object to Israel's injustice to its own minorities.

An "anti-Semite," in actual usage, is less often a man who hates Jews than a man certain Jews hate. The word expresses the emotional explosion that occurs in people who simply can't bear critical discourse about a sacred topic, and who experience criticism as profanation and blasphemy. The term "anti-Semitism" doesn't stand for any intelligible concept. It belongs not to the world of rational discourse, but to the realm of imprecations and maledictions and ritual ostracisms. And woe unto him, even in this modern secular world of ours, upon whom this curse is pronounced.

ALAN NAHIGIAN ©

Alan Nahigian

JOSEPH SOBRAN

The word "anti-Semitic"—like its cousins "racist," "sexist," and "homophobic"—has become a monotonous expletive, like the obscenities in action movies. It's tempting to ask whether the people who constantly resort to it have ever learned how to use a thesaurus. Can't they describe the behavior they object to in vivid nouns and verbs?

No. Not without losing the effect they desire. To say, for example, that Buchanan overstates his case against Israel here and there would be much less dramatic than uttering the formulaic malediction. And in pronouncing the curse, as in performing an exorcism, it's vital to adhere strictly to every syllable of the prescribed formula.

We're not being asked to show merely reasonable respect and consideration for minorities these days. We're being required to internalize their ethnocentrisms, to make ourselves satellites of their indomitable self-absorption—a mentality perfectly expressed by Meyer Lansky, whose notoriety was such that Israel refused to accept him under the Law of Return. "When you're a Jew," Lansky moaned, "the whole world's against you." If Abe Rosenthal and Norman Podhoretz talk in their sleep, this is probably what they say.

ANY reasonable and decent man must reject anti-Semitism, or any other irrational and unfair prejudice, especially when *it becomes, or threatens to become,* state policy. The whole idea of the rule of law is that the state should treat everyone alike. This is not only my sentiment but my guiding principle, as anyone who knows my work understands.

But if you apply this simple principle consistently, the Orwellian minority lobbies will accuse you of hating minorities. Oppose special government favor to any special interest—the race-quota lobby, Zionists, homosexuals, feminists, "artists"—and you are tagged as racist, anti-Semitic, homophobic, sexist, or Jesse Helms.

Replying to Bill's essay in the February issue of *Commentary*, Podhoretz all but equates opposition to Israel with anti-Semitism. And in his mind, "opposition" to Israel seems to mean rejecting any of its claims and demands against the American taxpayer. In other words, desiring merely normal relations with Israel is anti-Semitic!

But there is no reason why the American taxpayer should be *forced* to subsidize any foreign regime. He is already overtaxed to pay for his own government's constant pandering to domestic interests.

In the mental prison of his self-absorption, the minoritarian polemicist can only understand criticism of Israeli "democracy" (or of "civil rights," or federal grants to artists) as the expression of a special animus. It never occurs to him that the critics may be speaking out of their own principles, and he senses that he can't afford to subject his own interest to the scrutiny of principle.

So his endeavor is to sow suspicion against the critics. He has no other defense against them except the accusation. If he had to make his case on the presumption that others could disagree in good faith, he would be speechless.

I'll tell the full story of my own encounter with the Israel claque, and answer Bill's observations in detail,* someday soon. For now, this abridged account will have to do.

I HAD been pro-Israel—emotionally pro-Israel, in fact—for some years after the 1967 Six Day War. That changed with the 1982 Lebanon War, when the ruthless bombing of Beirut, and the attendant slaughter of Palestinian refugees, became too much for many of Israel's former admirers. I was disgusted with the trite phrases and revolting excuses that were being made for our "reliable ally." Menachem Begin, moreover, had lied to Ronald Reagan about his intentions in Lebanon. Some friend. We were being implicated in Israel's crimes. What were we getting out of this dubious alliance?

My mind really changed when I reread some old columns and editorials by James Burnham in, of all places, NATIONAL REVIEW. By then Jim was no longer with us—a stroke had forced him to retire in 1978—but his writings on the Middle East held up well. He had written that American and Israeli interests were basically divergent; that when push came to shove, the chief American interest in the region was access to Arab oil, which was threatened by American patronage of Israel, a relation that catered to the Israel lobby in America.

The more I reflected on this, the more obvious it seemed. I asked various pro-Israel conservatives for their views, but none of them made nearly as much sense as Burnham.

Taking his logic further, I concluded that it was in the interests of Israel to set the U.S. in opposition to the Arab world. But it was not in our interests. Such an alignment could only please the Soviet Union, which was seeking it for its own purposes. The idea that Israel was our "only reliable ally in the region," when it was alienating friendly Arab nations from us, recalled the old joke illustrating chutzpah: the man who kills his parents, then asks the court for mercy as an orphan.

An alliance is a hard-headed affair; your interests may require an alliance with someone you'd never want for a friend, just because you have a common enemy. Stalin is the notorious example. First you have enemies, then you form alliances. But in the Middle East, it seemed to be the other way around: first we got the "ally"—then we got the enemies.

The claim that Israel was our "strategic asset" died an embarrassing death during the Gulf War, when the Bush Administration had to beg Israel to stay out of the fighting, lest the anti-Iraq coalition fall apart. I never thought the Israelis wanted to fight, when the U.S. could dispatch their chief enemy for them; I predicted, though, that they would later demand American money for what was fulsomely called their "amazing restraint" in letting the U.S. do the fighting. Sure enough, they were soon demanding $10 billion in loan guarantees. And when President Bush stipulated conditions, an Israeli cabinet minister accused him of guess what.

I knew, nearly a decade ago now, that to write in this vein in my syndicated column would be to antagonize various Jewish neoconservatives, such as Norman Podhoretz and his wife, Midge Decter. I respected the neocons in those days, but I thought of them essentially as New Dealers who were beginning to see the light. I really had no idea how central Israel was to the Podhoretzes' politics. I figured that though we would differ on Israel, we agreed on most other things, so Israel wouldn't matter too much. I was yet to learn that they reasoned the other way around: if we differed on Israel, nothing else mattered.

The neocons could tolerate criticism of Israel from liberals and socialists, whom they dismissed as bleeding hearts. But criticism from a conservative—precisely on the grounds that Israel was neither a "reliable ally" nor a "strategic asset" to the U.S.—undermined the very basis on which they promoted American patronage of Israel.

By the spring of 1986, the Podhoretzes and their set were in full cry. They never argued with me; they accused me, publicly and privately, of "anti-Semitism," and they took their complaints to Bill and other editors, whom I gather they urged to fire or drop me. This is denied all around, but Bill's essay shows at least that their modus operandi is to communicate primarily with the editors and employers of writers who incur their wrath.† (In his reply to Bill's piece, Podhoretz complains that Bill broke his "promise" to prevent me from writing about Israel and Jewish topics in *NR*. What "promise" is he referring to? This comes as news to me. But whether or not any such promise was in fact made to him, we see here how he does business.)

Bill was very rattled. He published the strange statement he quotes in full in his essay, denying that I was anti-Semitic but saying it was perfectly reasonable to conclude from my columns on Israel that I was, with a pointed digression on the relative retaliatory powers of Jews, blacks, and homosexuals. (The statement appeared, as impish fate would have it, just below an editorial plangently affirming that free speech must never be squelched by pressure groups.)

Naturally, I was upset. But Bill discouraged me from writing a reply, arguing that I'd only be hurting myself; better to let the whole thing blow over. I accepted this unwise advice, assuming that I'd be vindicated by the letters from our readers in my behalf. The mail was pouring in, angry, eloquent, and overwhelmingly on my side. I was moved and gratified by those letters; some of them brought me close to tears. I never felt so proud of *NR*'s readers.

But Bill gave orders that none of those letters were to be published.

The result was that everyone got the false impression that our readers took no interest in the affair. I think I was

---

*One point won't wait: Bill seems to misremember the Thomas Friedman incident. Nobody disputes that Friedman (and his colleague William Branigin of the *Washington Post*) described the Israeli bombing of Beirut as "indiscriminate," or that the *New York Times* excised this damning adjective from his report. It remains a cause célèbre in American journalism. (Friedman recalls the incident on page 73 of his book *From Beirut to Jerusalem*.) I had mistakenly ascribed the editorial tampering to Abe Rosenthal; that's all I was apologizing for in the letter Bill quotes. I hadn't invented the bombing of Beirut.

†The only time I heard from them directly was when Midge wrote me an accusing letter, copies of which were also sent to most of my principal editors. She told a reporter that she had tried to "keep it private," but circulating the letter among journalists proved an unsuccessful method of keeping it out of the papers.

more disheartened by that than by anything else in the whole episode. It's amusing that Bill now begins his essay by quoting a single letter critical of me. Vox populi . . .

The ultimate target of the silencing campaign, it should be remembered, is not the relatively few writers under attack, but the public. Israel's little helpers want not so much to prevent us from speaking freely as to prevent us from being heard by people who may be listening intently. Israel's subsidies depend on maintaining an illusory monopoly of opinion in the media that will keep American taxpayers uninformed and passive. It's not enough that one side should be heavily overrepresented; no other side should even seem to exist.

It pains me to reflect that NATIONAL REVIEW came into being precisely to counteract such lopsidedness and false unanimity in public discussion.

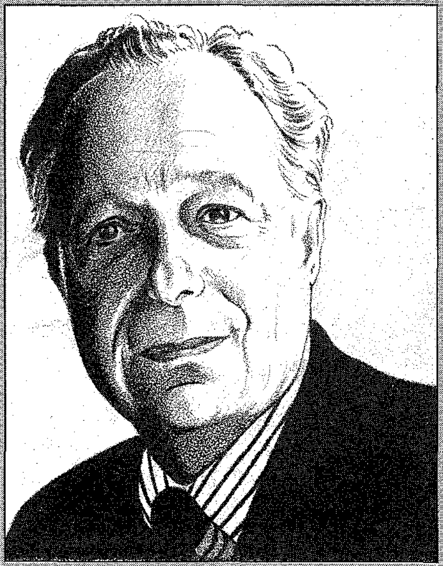
BILL BUCKLEY is lovable, brilliant, funny, generous, and innumerable other endearing things, but he is not always the keenest listener. He can make distinctions that would dizzy Bertrand Russell, but when he's determined not to see your point, a team of logicians armed with red-hot pokers can't make him see it. So when he summarizes my views on Israel, he fatally omits something obvious and central to them. What he calls "my burgeoning case against Israel"—as if I were likening Israel to North Korea or Uganda—is really my burgeoning case against Israel as an ally of the United States.

I don't know how I could have made this plainer than I have over the years. It's not that Israel is such a horrible state, as modern states go; it's a farrago—rather typical of the Middle East—of socialist, ethnic, and religious elements. We have no stake in its feud with its Arab and Moslem neighbors. This is just the sort of quarrel America has successfully avoided at home for two centuries. Why should we plunge into one on the other side of the world?

We live in an age so intent on motive-hunting that it has forgotten how to argue. Before Bill undertakes to grapple with my motives and purposes, I wish he would at least get straight what I've actually said. Anyone who has read as much Burnham as he has shouldn't find my meaning impenetrable. If I were wrong on every detail he has collected against me, my general argument would be unaffected.

For example, he writes: "Joe Sobran never spent a lot of time blasting apartheid." Well, I've never blasted bribery in Mexico, polygamy in the Moslem world, or female circumcision in sub-Saharan Africa either. Deplorable as these things are, they don't affect American global interests.

Bill is right to call Israel's domestic policies "analogous" to South Africa's. But this is hard to square with his fantastic assertion that non-Jews (he says "Arabs," as if there were no other restricted minorities in Israel; Christian Armenians, for example) enjoy virtually "equal rights" with Jews in Israel proper—where Jim Crow laws and quasi-legal arrangements, enforced by the agriculture minister, forbid non-Jewish residence on more than 92 per cent of the land. Bill once sent me a propaganda sheet from the Zionist outfit FLAME (Facts and Logic About the Middle East) to assure me of this supposed equality, apparently not realizing that FLAME is to Israel roughly what Corliss Lamont was to the Soviet Union.


Anthony Martin

IRVING KRISTOL

Does he, or anyone else, seriously believe that Arabs can be equals in a polity officially dedicated to Jews, and in which the total expulsion of Arabs is a live topic of discussion? In his book *Chutzpah*, even Alan Dershowitz admits that Arab equality in Israel is a fiction. The *New York Times* has recently carried several stories about Arabs being driven from their homes to make way for Jews; such news items ought to catch the eye of champions of private property. They illustrate the warnings of von Mises and Hayek about the malign uses of socialist state power. Socialism is a lousy system for producing wealth, but it's an excellent system for controlling a subject population. Ask any Ukrainian.

The South African analogy fails on several key points.

1. We aren't taxed to support South Africa. We are taxed to support Israel. We're usually free to find fault with that which we are forced to pay for.

2. There is no shortage of critics of apartheid; whereas Israel has not only a powerful lobby in America, but a big claque in the press constantly repeating its propaganda claims.

3. Most pertinent here, no journalist takes a risk to his career by criticizing apartheid. The power of the pro-Israel forces not only siphons off American tax money, but seriously impedes free discussion of Israel in this country.

Bill himself has sometimes noted ruefully that there is more freedom to criticize Israel in the Knesset than in the American press. For some reason, he doesn't address this problem in his essay. Not only is it pertinent; the essay itself is indirect proof of how serious the problem has gotten. Pat Buchanan and I are far from the only journalists whose livelihoods have been threatened because we criticized Israel. Everyone in the business knows you mention Israel's shortcomings at your own risk.

Very well, then; but must I criticize Israel so much? Must I be so . . . "obsessed"? I note that this word is applied exclusively to pundits on the wrong side of the unwritten law. If I were writing frequent columns faulting (say) Mali, when nobody else was even defending Mali, I'd have to say, Yes, it looks as if I'm a little obsessed with Mali.

But take a quick inventory (only the Census Bureau could do the job exhaustively) of the commentators who constantly defend Israel: Podhoretz, Rosenthal, Dershowitz, Martin Peretz, George Will, Mortimer Zuckerman, Morton Kondracke, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Kenneth Adelman, Amos Perlmutter, Eric Breindel, Cal Thomas, Max Lerner, Ben Wattenberg, Charles

Krauthammer, William Safire, Fred Barnes . . . Peretz and Zuckerman have bought three major magazines—*The New Republic*, *U.S. News & World Report*, and *The Atlantic*—and turned them into organs of pro-Israel apologetics. The U.S. Government and the news media give enormously disproportionate attention to Israel, which gets the lion's share—more than a quarter—of U.S. aid. (How much goes to Mali, which has twice the population and fifty times the acreage of Israel? Where the hell is Mali?)

Please! *I* don't put Israel on the front pages of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. *I* don't make Dan Rather and Tom Brokaw talk about it. I don't fly Secretaries of State to Jerusalem every few weeks.

THE TRUTH of the matter is that I'm responding to an obsession—a more or less official national obsession with a tiny, faraway socialist ethnocracy, which, I agree, ought to be a very minor concern of American policy-makers, but isn't. The orthodox view that Israel is a "reliable ally" is so brittle that a single maverick can ignite a frenzy. The reason, I repeat, is not that critics of Israel are so numerous, but that even one, as far as Israel's claque is concerned, is one too many. There is the terrible danger that the public may be more interested in what he has to say than in the party line the rest of the chorus is emitting.

I'm also responding to a very loud silence. Obsession is not always overt. It can also take the form of evasion, of a jittery refusal to face a thing that cries out for frank discussion. I find this obsession in people who suspend their professed principles when it comes to Israel: in liberals who damn discrimination everywhere but in Israel, and in conservatives who overlook everything from socialism to espionage when Israel is the perpetrator. I guarantee you, I'll criticize Israel a lot less when other conservatives criticize it a little more.

Or when they feel free—really free, as an American should always feel free—to criticize it at all. It's really the silence that bothers me. Above all, I'm responding to the fear that creates that silence. Anti-Semitism, as the term is used by honest people, is contemptible. But so is the dishonest imputation of it. Not long after the Podhoretz crowd's attack on me, Midge Decter accused the most venerable of American conservatives, Russell Kirk, of "anti-Semitism" for a perfectly harmless quip: he had remarked that some neoconservatives appear to think the capital of the United States is Tel Aviv. Her smear was neither reported nor rebuked by NATIONAL REVIEW. I think *NR* finds it easier to stand up to Saddam Hussein than to Midge Decter. It can be witty and sassy on every subject but one.

I very much mind the tens of billions of dollars Israel and its partisans have taken from us. But I mind much more the freedom they have taken from us—the full freedom to discuss our own country's best interests. And I mind that it's a freedom Bill and NATIONAL REVIEW seem indisposed to exercise, or even to lament having lost.

WFB's Commentary

1. I don't understand Joe Sobran's saying that in my essay I never write about the "Vice Versa." In the essay I deplore a) unwarranted imputations of anti-Semitism; b) the intimidating activity of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC); c) heavy pressures, some Jewish in origin, by the abuse of the First Amendment, to cultivate an unnatural secularism (the essay even quoted at some length two Jewish critics, Irving Kristol and Michael Kinsley, who deplore this practice). Longtime readers of the magazine will remember that d) back when the Anti-Defamation League was tempted to identify American conservatism with fascism and racism, we regularly gave the organization hell. (We welcomed its reformation at the hands of the late Nathan Perlmutter, who was a contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW.)

2. It is true, and should not surprise anybody, that as often as not there are no penalties imposed on minorities who abuse majorities. Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall referred to President Reagan as the "greatest racist" in the history of the White House and nobody except Reagan seemed to notice (President Reagan invited him over to the White House and they had a nice chat). The head of the NAACP said roughly the same thing about Reagan, more or less repeatedly. Anti-Christian and especially anti-Catholic abuse is everywhere engaged in, notably in Hollywood, and everywhere tolerated. Our own religion editor, Richard John Neuhaus, commented some time ago that in the view of the *New York Times* "the only good Catholic is a bad Catholic." And it has been suggested that no Catholic or Christian fundamentalist should be heard in public debate on those questions where their opinions derive from their underlying religious philosophy.

But this does not mean that the reputations of fanatics don't suffer. Professor Dershowitz is taken less seriously by serious people since the publication of a rabid book. President Freedman of Dartmouth is in effect disavowed in the *Commentary* piece quoted below. One must assume that such folk can be "hurt," even if nobody sues them for damages or puts them in the pokey, or in Coventry.

3. It is true that to criticize Israel is often to invite critical biopsies by people a) looking out for Israel and b) looking for anti-Semitism. That there is a hard lobby working for Israel is nowhere denied; on the contrary, it is stipulated in the essay. There are other lobbies. Is it more dangerous for a congressman to antagonize AIPAC, or the National Rifle Association? A draw, I'd guess. We spend $3 billion per year on Israel. The Grace Commission showed how we might save annual expenditures of $400 billion. To blow one's stack over that relatively small part of the budget that goes to Israel is only absolutely safe to do—if fiscal husbandry is the objective—if one has a whole lot of other stacks lined up to blow, in protest of other federal expenditures. If it isn't the money, but the moral question, indignation over expenditures in countries with unsavory governments should be consistent (how much did we invest in the Philippines when Marcos was in charge?). Otherwise the suspicion can and will arise that there is animus behind the objective of trimming the budget at the expense of Israel.

4. It does not occur to Joe to meditate on the exchanges with his colleagues during the period in question: three protracted sessions, two of them lasting over two hours, at which the other Senior Editors, plus the Managing Editor, plus the Publisher, endorsed the analysis that went into the editorial he classifies as "strange," and the action to which that analysis

pointed. All five of us joined in warning him that what he was then writing inevitably gave rise to conclusions that what burns up Joe Sobran is the Jewish operation in Israel. Joe does not call attention to his praise of *Instauration* magazine (later withdrawn), or to some of the language used in his column ("Holocaust Update" for the *New York Times*). Dammit, people who provoke—and that often includes NATIONAL REVIEW and its Editor-at-Large—have got to face up to the consequences of provocation: people get mad and they fight back. The question here is whether they *fight back fairly*—in this case, by alleging anti-Semitism. It was precisely the purpose of the essay to probe that question. When Pat Buchanan said that only the Israeli Defense Ministry and its "amen corner" were in favor of resisting Saddam Hussein's war of aggression he certainly provoked me, by

Some examples of critical assessments, done by WFB in his column and in NATIONAL REVIEW, *of past Israeli government practices.*

". . . the present danger is that Israel's history and Begin's fanaticism may merge. [That fanaticism] threatens to infect the basis of Israel's support, which has all along been one part geopolitical and nine parts moral. The essence of the Israeli case has always been the right of a people to a homeland . . . But the right of a people to a homeland is, at root, impartial. The Palestinians are also entitled to a home."

—Column, February 9, 1982

". . . the top leadership of Israel decided to get huffy. They took the position: 'Your Eminence, you can visit us in our offices or not at all.' In putting it that way, the Israelis give the impression of opportunism and of insincerity."

—Column, January 1, 1987

". . . there is the other position held nowadays by some American Jews, expressed by Rita Hauser, the prominent attorney and stateswoman: 'Israel runs the risk of losing its soul.' She meant by this that democracy is one of the ideals with which Israel is associated. But Israel is right now engaged in colonizing the West Bank, never mind that Israelis are outnumbered there 10 to 1. And there are no plans, warns Miss Hauser, to give equal rights to Arabs . . ."

—Column, January 7, 1988

"[Amos] Elon began by telling interrogator Harry Reasoner that it was nonsense for Americans, particularly Jewish Americans, to take the position that they should keep their hands away from Israeli policy. Israeli policy, said Elon, is very much a matter of concern to America. The trouble with many American Jews, said Elon, is that having conquered their environment and won a secure place in the American scene, they 'live like WASPs, but vote like Puerto Ricans.' It is too much the fashion to suppose that because a policy is sanctioned by the government of Israel, it is a policy that should evoke loyalty from Jews around the world . . . Elon told his vast audience that under existing policies, Israel faced one of two futures: 'I really do not see that there is a third alternative.' One future is the transformation of the area into one more Lebanon, which is what would happen if Israel annexed the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The second alternative, which is a continuation of present policies—occupation and suppression—would mean simply that Israel had become another South Africa, with one law for citizens of one race, a second law for others. To go in either of these directions, Elon said, is to abort the dream that guided the founding of Israel."

—Column, April 19, 1988

"Israel has a way of driving its friends mad, which gives us some idea of what it does to its enemies. The latest is the imposition by Israel of censorship to cover the emigration of Soviet Jews into the West Bank. Israel is engaged in breaking all the rules . . ."

—Column, March 6, 1990

". . . the riots also show the morass into which Israel, as a result of its own policies, has sunk . . ."

—Editorial, January 22, 1988

". . . The issue is that Israel continues to occupy, as it has for 22 years, territory to which it has no claim and no title. The totalists in Shamir's party and beyond it—the Sharons and the Kahanes—want the occupation to continue *in saecula saeculorum*. Shamir . . . has bowed to their pressure . . . It is endlessly said that there is only one democracy in the Middle East. Considering the constipation of Israeli politics, it might be better to say, in the manner of the Unitarians, that there is at most one democracy in the Middle East. The Labor Party of Shimon Peres is more exasperated by Israeli bitterendedness than any critic in America, but the Israeli political system, which is based on proportional representation of the most fragmented sort, prevents any major party from proposing a coherent program of change. Peres lacks the votes, Shamir lacks the guts, and so the country remains hostage to religious and expansionist fanatics . . ."

—Editorial, August 4, 1989

". . . the Shamirites have grown so accustomed to thinking of the Palestinian problem as one that can be bluffed away or denied that their capacity to deal with the problem's actual manifestations, whether in the occupied territories or in Israel itself, has virtually eroded . . ."

—Editorial, November 5, 1990

". . . since the United States is also a sovereign state, we have our own decisions to make, based on our own interests. When Israel takes actions which snarl our diplomacy on the eve of a major push . . . then our interests are not served. We should make it clear to our friends in Jerusalem that if they insist too hard on going it alone, we could conceivably let them do so."

—Editorial, August 7, 1981*

---

*For the benefit of those with very large appetites, see also columns by WFB 6/13/81; 2/22/83; 10/15/85; 1/15/87; 3/4/88; 9/8/89; 4/6/90. And *NR* editorials 10/2/81; 4/16/82; 10/1/82; 9/30/83; 4/20/84; 12/31/85; 1/30/87; 2/5/88; 4/16/90.

God: I'm neither an Israeli Defense Ministry nor an "amen corner," and I and fellow editors had written several columns and editorials backing Bush's tough response to Iraq. So Joe and Pat should be surprised that some people suspect, others proclaim, that Sobran and Buchanan are bent on provoking friends of Israel? Well, they succeeded in their provocations and have to live with the hounds they unleashed. This is hardly an endorsement of such as A. M. Rosenthal, who indefensibly situated Pat Buchanan alongside David Duke, or of Richard Cohen, who goes so far as to contend that no anti-anti-Semite should consent to appear on the same television program with Buchanan. And of course it is supremely deformed to suggest that Pat Buchanan's campaign in New Hampshire was in any significant way related to the question here being discussed.

5. When the editorial about the disavowal of Joe's columns was published in *NR*, this was not an invitation to our readers to comment on who was right, who wrong, in the adjudication. In the first place, none of our readers (that we knew of) had studied the scarlet dozen of Joe's columns. They could not have known the hours of thought given to the decisions arrived at by a unanimous senior staff whose responsibility it is to make policy and personnel decisions. I did not elect to embarrass Joe in the editorial I wrote—by reproducing the offensive columns. Nor did I dilate on the number of times I had told him about the minefield he was electing to kick up his heels in. And it is critical to recognize that we are talking about a minefield the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW substantially approve of: alarms that go off when people venture, inadvertently or by design, toward a dark and toxic house, whose identity becomes decipherable only after one has trod too far. There is a graffito there that reads: EZRA POUND SLEPT HERE.

6. I do not understand Joe's extraordinary suggestion that Israel is immune from critical attention by me or by NATIONAL REVIEW (or, for that matter, by the *New York Times*, CBS, or Garry Trudeau). We reproduce, on page 9, brief excerpts from published criticisms of Israeli practices which *did not* provoke charges of anti-Semitism. But any useful commentary on the Israeli phenomenon has got to begin by understanding that an explicitly Jewish state isn't going to be a multicultural state. Much that goes on routinely in Israel, and certainly in the West Bank, would be forbidden under the U.S. Constitution. Accept this, and much else is merely derivative. Christians are not free to proselytize in Israel. Israel isn't a state within which there is civil equality. On this subject I have written, if I may say so, vividly. I have also written (the phrase is reproduced in the excerpts of criticisms of Israeli policies) that our concern for Israel is "one part geopolitical and nine parts moral"; and that was written even before the cold war ended. In 1946 the feeling in America among the morally alert was that something should be done to revive Jewish hope, to help to remoralize a people wounded and humiliated by the Holocaust. That sentiment, so widely held, diminishes today because of the excesses of the Shamir government. But although our help over the years was largely that, a benefaction—even as we exercised charity toward Japan and Germany—Israel was, also, over a particular period, a strategic asset whose government reflected majority opinion. It is absolutely incorrect to suggest, as Joe does, that South Africa's apartheid policies lay outside his interest inasmuch as South Africa was never a strategic asset. On the contrary, it was: the source of minerals not elsewhere procurable, and the Gibraltar of the South Atlantic. The embargo on South Africa, at the time it was imposed, imperiled our strategic interests; which is why NATIONAL REVIEW opposed that embargo even while disapproving of apartheid.

7. NATIONAL REVIEW came into existence to endeavor to speak the truth and to encourage discriminating thought. It continues to be proud of one of its primary achievements, namely to have encouraged Joe Sobran to harness up and come on into our tent, where he is much admired, much beloved; and, as should certainly be evident, much prayed over.

2. An Interrogatory From Ronald R. Stockton

ITEM 1. You take Sobran to task for reporting that a Friedman story on "indiscriminate" bombing was modified stateside. You say Thomas Friedman wrote an article in *Columbia Journalism Review* correcting facts.

Observation: I spoke with Tom Friedman and asked about the "indiscriminate" story. He said he *had* used the word and it *had* been cut stateside. He said the story in the Roger Morris article in the *CJR* (November/December 1982) was an accurate depiction of what happened, that he told *you* the facts and "Buckley got it wrong." He said he himself had *no* article in *CJR*.

Item 2. While Israel does not allow mixed marriages, a marriage contracted overseas "yields equal rights upon return."

Observation: It would take a lawyer to sort this one out, but my understanding is that the children of such marriages are illegitimate (*mamzer*) under Israeli law.

Also, by way of anecdote, a colleague, Sandy, who is Jewish, married Sue, who is not. When Sandy took his sabbatical in Israel a few years ago, Sue was not allowed to work because they would not give her a spouse work permit for this reason (at least that is what Sandy understood).

Item 3. You discuss the anti-inducement law and observe that "In the absence of protests from the missionary wing of the Christian churches, one assumes either that the law is a dead letter, or else that it is so effective as to eliminate evangelization."

Observation: *Arrrrgh!* My first thought was that this is the logic whereby Syrian Jews who do not tell TV reporters they are being harassed are not being harassed. My second thought is that you need a better informant. Do you know the problems the Mormons had, getting permission to build in Jerusalem? Or the problems of Jerusalem's Baptist church? It burned down in the early 1980s, waited over an hour for a fire truck to

---

Mr. Stockton is a professor of political science at the University of Michigan–Dearborn.

come from a few blocks away, waited most of the decade to get a permit to rebuild, then had to put in expensive soundproofing when neighbors protested against Christian songs. I personally met a "secret missionary" registered as a bookseller. He says that he has a rabbi in his group: the rabbi says if he acknowledged his faith he would be ruined. The missionary fears expulsion. Talk to some Christian Palestinians.

Item 4. Abe's mother is Jewish. Under the Law of Return he has a right to citizenship—unless he renounces his faith.

Observation: Murky is too mild a word, but apparently Abe's *descendants* have a right to citizenship even if Abe converts. Clause 4Aa guarantees citizenship to "the child and grandchild of a Jew" exempting only the "person" who converted. This looks like citizenship by descent as well as faith. Zucker, *Coming Crisis in Israel*, discusses some court decisions.

Item 5. Vidal says "a small number of American Jews made common cause with . . . the TV studios of the evangelical Jesus-Christers." You say "I am genuinely at a loss as to what Vidal means here."

Observation: The close relationship between Revisionist Zionism and the Televangelist Right was a bit of a scandal in the 1980s among progressive Jews. Falwell received the Jabotinsky Award in 1981 and was reportedly the second American called by Begin after the bombing of Iraq (after the President). I was told by someone in the Evangelical movement—not involved in Middle Eastern affairs—that the Israelis gave Falwell a private jet. (See my article on Christian Zionism, *The Middle East Journal*, Spring 1987.)

Item 6. The Pollard case would be different if Israel had given secrets to Russia.

Observation: Did you read the Weinberg brief (sensitive sections were deleted)? It suggests exactly that (although he cannot say so directly). Also see the *MacNeil-Lehrer* interview with DeGenova the day of sentencing. He came as close as possible to saying it without saying it.

Item 7. You say there is no move to expel "Israeli Arabs."

Observation: Are you aware of the positions of rightist Israeli parties? Check the platforms of Tehiya, Molodet, and Tsomet, and the public statements of their leaders. Remember these are (or were) in the Israeli cabinet.

Item 8. "A fierce anti-Semitism exists among Palestinians. Probably a higher percentage of them hate Jews than did the Germans."

Observation: This may be the oddest statement in the essay. It comes from nowhere, is unconnected to anything before or after, and offers no evidence. On the face of it, it seems part of the Israel-linked rhetoric wars. I have seen Palestinian public-opinion studies, have read official PLO documents, have spoken to Palestinians in Jerusalem, in the territories, in Israel, and in Dearborn, and see no evidence for your conclusion. A few months ago the Bishop of Jerusalem told my class how he had been a 'Sabbath boy' to a beloved neighbor in Haifa in 1948. A Nazareth pastor told me last summer how he invited Jews from Tel Aviv to take refuge in his church until the war ended. And Father Chacour told a Detroit congregation recently of his determination to have peace between Jews and Palestinians. You mentioned a "percentage." Would you share your data?

Comment by WFB

Re Item 1. I regret the confusion. Here is the PS in a letter I sent to Joe Sobran on September 29, 1990: "I called Thomas Friedman. He told me 1) Abe Rosenthal was not on duty when the adjective 'indiscriminate' was excised—Seymour Topping was. 2) Friedman never wrote a piece on the subject for the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Roger Morris did. 3) Not all the facts in the Morris account are accurate. He would be glad to tell the entire story to anyone at *NR* who wants to call him." In my essay my memory slipped, but in no important detail: I had forgotten that it was Roger Morris who had written up the story in the *Columbia Journalism Review*. My memory of what Thomas Friedman said over the telephone is distinct, and the reason I published the story is made clear in the context.

Re Item 8. I don't understand why you find this perplexing. Organized Jewry in Germany was never hostile to Germany. The Palestinians have been fighting the Jews since 1948, fighting directly on five occasions, indirectly on other occasions. They are most definitely hostile to the state of Israel, which they believe began by taking their territory and continues, expansively, to colonize outside the pre-1967 borders. It should not surprise us that there are Palestinians who are friendly and hospitable to individual Jews, and vice versa. It was so in Nazi Germany, between Jews and (yes) even some Nazis.

---

3. An Open Letter to Wm. F. Buckley Jr. From Norman Podhoretz

I HAVE just read "In Search of Anti-Semitism" and I am, quite frankly, relieved. The reason is that it did not confirm my deepest apprehensions upon first hearing the top-secret rumor that you were writing a very long essay by that title which would take a new look at the charges of anti-Semitism against Joe Sobran, Pat Buchanan, Gore Vidal, and *The Dartmouth Review*.

No doubt you are wondering, perhaps a little testily, why this rumor should have made me so apprehensive. Well, our mutual friend George Will once observed that one does not call a conference on "Whither Incest?" in order to reaffirm the prohibition against incest. Just so, it is reasonable to suspect that one does not necessarily go in search of anti-Semitism in order to find it. Anti-Semitism is, after all, easy enough to unearth without a search warrant; conversely, if one needs to search in order to find it, the possibility arises that it may not be there at all.

But I am being a little disingenuous

"What Is Anti-Semitism? An Open Letter to Wm. F. Buckley Jr." is excerpted from Commentary, *February 1992.*

here (though no more than I admit—see below—I have sometimes found you to be on the subject of anti-Semitism). The truth is that, after discussing the issue with you several times over the past ten years—first in connection with the response to Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and then more recently in connection with Sobran and Buchanan—I had come away with the sinking feeling that (forgive me, even though I can hardly forgive myself, for borrowing from the feminists) you just didn't get it.

But, you are fully entitled to ask me, what about your past record not only in spotting anti-Semitism when it appeared in your own immediate environs but also in fighting to expunge it? In your new essay, you remind us of that record, and the pride you take in it shines through. So it should; it is a very honorable record indeed. You begin with a casual shocker: "I have some credentials in the area, among them my own father's anti-Semitism." You also confess that in 1937, at the age of 11, you "wept tears of frustration at being forbidden by senior siblings" to accompany them on an adventure that consisted of burning a cross outside a Jewish resort. But later in life, putting away childish things, and having come to see in the wake of the Holocaust that "The age calls for hypersensitivity to anti-Semitism, over against a lackadaisical return to the blasé conventions of the prewar generation, which in one country led to genocidal catastrophe," you set your face most resolutely against anti-Semitism. When you founded NATIONAL REVIEW in 1955 and became its editor, you recall, the magazine

> declined association with anti-Semites, and indeed on one occasion went a generic step further. When it became clear, in 1957, that the direction *The American Mercury* was headed was anti-Semitic, I ruled, with the enthusiastic approval of my colleagues, that no writer appearing on the *Mercury*'s masthead, notwithstanding his own innocence on the subject, could also appear on NATIONAL REVIEW's.

There can be no doubt that this was indeed a "generic step." Before you took it, the American Right had provided a rather comfortable home for anti-Semitic ideas, attitudes, and feelings, even if many on the Right were themselves, as individuals, "innocent on the subject." Thanks to you, however, a process of purgation, of cleansing, began. It is a process that still remains to be completed, but so far has it already gone that—as your successor to the editorship of NATIONAL REVIEW, John O'Sullivan, puts it in his introduction to your essay—"When anti-Semitism appears today outside the restricted confines of the country club . . . , it is almost invariably a left-wing phenomenon."

Nearly thirty years later came the case of Joe Sobran, which you review at length in the first part of "In Search of Anti-Semitism." The salient points are that in 1986, Sobran, then a Senior Editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, wrote a number of syndicated columns which many people regarded as unambiguously anti-Semitic. Complaints were made both orally and in writing to him, to you, and to some of your colleagues. You responded in due course with an extraordinary editorial in NATIONAL REVIEW denying that Sobran was anti-Semitic but acknowledging that

> Any person who, given the knowledge of the reigning protocols, read and agonized over the half-dozen columns by Joe Sobran might reasonably conclude that those columns were written by a writer inclined to anti-Semitism.

Invoking the precedent you had set in connection with *The American Mercury* in 1957, you concluded by dissociating yourself and your colleagues "from what we view as the obstinate tendentiousness of Joe Sobran's recent columns" (even though those columns had not appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW itself). While you did not go so far as to drop him from your board of Senior Editors (that would come in 1991, over the Gulf War), you did forbid him to write in NATIONAL REVIEW on Jews, Judaism, or Israel.

As FOR my own role, which you now rehearse in great—perhaps too great—detail, it consisted at first only of being among those whose complaints had led to this outcome. Later I wrote an article for *Commentary* entitled "The Hate That Dare Not Speak Its Name" [November 1986], which was mainly about Gore Vidal and *The Nation* (a case you take up in Part 4 of your essay) but which concluded with a section about Sobran and NATIONAL REVIEW. Later still, you and I had a rather sharp two-round exchange of unpublished letters about a piece by Sobran in defense of himself against me and some of his other critics that you published in NATIONAL REVIEW. "In Search of Anti-Semitism" contains extensive quotes from that exchange (with more space devoted to your letters than to mine—but who's counting?), and you naturally give yourself the last word with seven points in rebuttal.

My guess is that any reader of that section of your essay who is unfamiliar with "The Hate That Dare Not Speak Its Name" will get the impression that I had been one of those who, you report, were dissatisfied with the way you handled "the Sobran crisis." Curiously enough, in spite of the praise I lavished upon your behavior in "The Hate That Dare Not Speak Its Name," you seem to lapse at moments into that impression yourself. So let me make things Kristol clear (pun intended, naturally).

I thought then, and I think now, that you acted nobly in confronting a "beloved" (your word) disciple and colleague and trying to set him straight in private on a matter of great delicacy and difficulty. I thought then, and I think now, that going public with your chastisement of him when he remained obdurate was an act of high statesmanship. Had you lacked the courage to perform it, grave damage would have resulted to the reputation of your magazine and of the conservative movement it has done more than any other single force to establish as an influential presence in the mainstream of our political culture. I wondered then, and I wonder now, whether I would have had the stuff to acquit myself so well in an analogous situation.

In short, I have no hesitation in including your handling of Sobran on the list of your accomplishments in fighting anti-Semitism on the Right. (Until, that is, you tarnished that accomplishment by deciding to publish what I called his "unrepentant and disingenuous" rebuttal in NATIONAL REVIEW—about which more below.)

Finally, to complete the list of your struggles to cleanse the conservative movement of anti-Semitism, we come to the case of Pat Buchanan. To my mind, the section on him in "In Search of Anti-Semitism" is the best, and politically the most important, news about the essay. Here, to my gratified surprise, you conclude another long and careful review of the record by stating simply and clearly, and without any fancy dancing, that you

> find it impossible to defend Pat Buchanan against the charge that what he did and said during the period under examination amounted to anti-Semitism, whatever it was that drove him to say and do it . . .

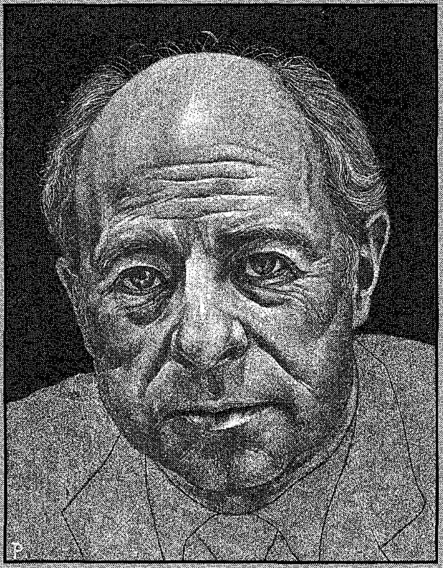
Again, if you are wondering why I should have been surprised, I would refer you to the column you wrote on the subject after Abe Rosenthal, in his column in the *New York Times*, had (as you put it) "gone ballistic" in charging Buchanan with anti-Semitism. Your own judgment at that time was that Buchanan was merely "insensitive to those fine lines that tend publicly to define racially or ethnically offensive analysis or rhetoric." You also seemed to endorse the view that what others took to be anti-Semitism was in reality an attraction in Buchanan to "mischievous generalizations." Worse yet, you concluded with a peroration which in my opinion came perilously close to falling into the abyss of moral equivalence in its assessment of the debate:

> The Buchanans need to understand the nature of sensibilities in an age that coexisted with Auschwitz. And the Rosenthals need to understand that clumsy forensic manners are less than a genocidal offense . . .

You now reveal that you were uneasy with the points left unexplored in this column, and that this is what prompted you to investigate further and eventually to write "In Search of Anti-Semitism." Yet to tell you the truth, I saw little sign of any such uneasiness at the meeting of conservatives you called around that time to discuss Desert Shield. Inevitably, a good part of that meeting was devoted to the Buchanan question, and whereas a number of the non-Jewish participants were willing to say unequivocally that Buchanan's pieces on Desert Shield—along with some of the remarks he had made on television and in other columns dealing with Israel, American Jews, and Nazi war criminals—added up to anti-Semitism, you were conspicuously reluctant to join them. You kept raising questions and introducing distinctions that struck me (see above) as disingenuous and logic-chopping and that served more to darken counsel than to advance understanding.

Hence my gratified surprise when I read the results of your subsequent investigation of and reflections on the case of Buchanan. And I was all the more gratified to discover that Joshua Muravchik's scrupulously documented article in *Commentary*, "Patrick J. Buchanan and the Jews" [January 1991], had helped you resolve some of your earlier doubts and reach your new conclusion.

IN THE cover letter accompanying the advance copy you sent me of "In Search of Anti-Semitism," you wrote: "I have a feeling you will agree with 95 per cent of my own conclusions, nuanced though they are—which means to run special risks . . ." As it happens, 95 per cent may be a little high, since I would have to deduct at least 5 per cent alone for your positively talmudic (or should the word be Jesuitical—as from before the Jesuits went left, of course?) whitewash of Russell Kirk. I acknowledge that he deserves your deepest respect as one of the founding fathers of the contemporary conservative movement. But that does not remove the anti-Semitic stench from his crack that "not seldom has it seemed as if some eminent neoconservatives mistook Tel Aviv for the capital of the United States."



Chang Park

NORMAN PODHORETZ

Still, I do agree with a great deal of your essay. On your conclusions about Gore Vidal and *The Nation*, for example, there isn't a dime's worth of difference between us—though that may not be saying much, given that we have long seen eye to eye where the growth of anti-Semitism on the Left is concerned.

On the other hand, it may perhaps strike you as more significant that I am with you all the way in your section exonerating *The Dartmouth Review* of the charge of anti-Semitism. Some people are always complaining that false charges of anti-Semitism are just as bad as anti-Semitism itself. I doubt it, but even stipulating that in certain circumstances it may be so, it remains the case that for these people, virtually all charges of anti-Semitism are false. The reasoning seems to be that the accusation of anti-Semitism is so damaging that not even those who make blatantly anti-Semitic statements should be subjected to it. (Remember when the press refused to call even outspoken members of the Communist Party Communists?) For some, nothing short of releasing the gas into the showers of Auschwitz constitutes anti-Semitism; and even that may not be enough—assuming (they quickly go on to add) that such a thing ever really happened; or if it did happen, that it resulted in as many deaths as "the Jews" claim it did.

Yet for once, in *The Dartmouth Review*, we have a genuine example of false charges of anti-Semitism doing damage to innocent victims. I see no good reason to rehash your excellent summary of the particulars of this case here, but there is one crucial point that needs to be extended and stressed.

In dealing with *The Dartmouth Review* you return to the question you raised earlier in discussing Sobran and Buchanan of whether there is "a nexus between anti-Semitism and opposition to the policies of Israel." But this time—because *The Dartmouth Review* defended itself against the charge of anti-Semitism by emphasizing that it had always been a supporter of Israel—you raise the question in order "to probe the contra positive assumption, namely that friendship toward Israel exonerates one from any suspicion of anti-Semitism." Your own position is that

> this is as a practical matter true, though not conclusively so. It is difficult to imagine someone who is anti-Semitic and pro-Israel. But such could exist, e.g., the (hy-

> pothetical) man who wishes Zionism to flower so that Jews in the rest of the world would be attracted to emigrate; so to speak, inaugurating an anti-diasporization.

Now, to be fair, your hypothetical man is not hypothetical at all; in the nineteenth century, the founder of political Zionism himself, Theodor Herzl, used this very argument with some success to enlist gentile support. But that was in another country, and those wenches have long since died. Today, I for one would insist, it *is* impossible "to imagine someone who is anti-Semitic and pro-Israel." But what about Solzhenitsyn, who is thought by many to be anti-Semitic and yet is certainly pro-Israel, possibly for the very reason that he wants all the Jews of Russia to go there? In an essay on Solzhenitsyn a few years ago, I grappled with this question, and came up with the following answer:

> Solzhenitsyn has always defended Israel, even to the point of invidiously comparing the courage of the Israelis in the face of their Arab enemies with the appeasement of the Soviet Union by the Western democracies. To be sure there was a time when it was possible for an anti-Semite to be a Zionist of sorts. . . . *But in our own day Israel has become the touchstone of attitudes toward the Jewish people, and anti-Zionism has become the main and most relevant form of anti-Semitism.* So much is this the case that almost anything Solzhenitsyn may think about the role of Jews in the past—or even in the post-Communist Russia of his dreams—becomes academic by comparison.

This was published in February 1985, and pausing for a minute to express my awe at the realization in so short a time of Solzhenitsyn's dreams, which then seemed so far off, I want to call your special attention to the sentence I have now put in italics. For it is here that you and I have our sharpest disagreements, and it is here that I come to the bad news about "In Search of Anti-Semitism."

AS BETWEEN the two of us, the story goes back to "J'Accuse," the article I wrote for *Commentary* [September 1982] about the response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the two columns you then wrote in response to it.

I recall this old controversy not because I have any desire to awaken sleeping dogs, but because you yourself dig it up in your essay—and in a most peculiar way. Instead of tackling it directly, as you do with the other instances of debate between us which you describe in other parts of "In Search of Anti-Semitism," you drag it in via endless quotations from a piece by one Allan Brownfeld attacking "J'Accuse," as well as a speech I made a few years later at a conference of Jewish journalists in Jerusalem.* Brownfeld you identify as "a syndicated columnist who is himself Jewish," which is true as far as it goes but omits the more relevant information that he is violently anti-Zionist (being, in fact, the editor of an American Council for Judaism newsletter) and hence violently anti-*Commentary* and me.

Be that as it may, in one of the passages you reproduce, Brownfeld repeats the widely circulated lie that in "J'Accuse" I equated any and all criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism. You then make this comment:

> The episode to which Brownfeld refers is well remembered by readers of *Commentary*. It was the general judgment of the concerned community (I was among the critics, devoting a column to the subject) that Podhoretz's fears and condemnations were exaggerated. . . .

Here either your memory is failing you (if so, welcome to the club) or you are once again slipping into disingenuousness (ditto). Whichever, there are three errors in the second of the two sentences quoted above: 1) The mail on "J'Accuse" showed that the "concerned community" overwhelmingly endorsed my thesis that the coverage of and comment on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon went far beyond unfairness and gave witness to "an eruption of anti-Semitism." 2) You devoted, as I have already indicated, not one but two columns to the subject, in the second of which you answered me and others who had complained to you about the first. 3) Neither you nor the other critics of "J'Accuse" thought that my "fears and condemnations were exaggerated," as you now so blandly phrase it. What you all thought, or at any rate said, was summed up in a letter I sent you on the day your first column appeared. Instead of paraphrasing that letter, I will follow the example you set in "In Search of Anti-Semitism" of quoting from private correspondence when it serves to illuminate. Here, then, are a couple of the relevant passages from my letter:

> Nearly 15 years ago, I began earning the enemies you congratulate me on having by pointing to the prevalence of anti-Americanism on the American Left. This charge elicited . . . vituperation and evasive action: "Podhoretz smears anyone who criticizes America as anti-American." To this I would reply: "Yes, to be sure, there is such a thing as legitimate criticism of America, but the phenomenon I am pointing to is more properly called 'anti-Americanism.'"
>
> Now you, of all people, come along and make an analogous charge against an analogous argument . . . I was careful to say in "J'Accuse" that *not* all critics of Israel's incursion into Lebanon are anti-Semitic; I specifically mentioned the *New York Times* editorial page as an example. Yet like my own critics on the Left . . . , you charge—and the *Washington Post* delightedly highlights the charge in bold type—that I "label as anti-Semitic the critics of Israel's campaign against the PLO in Lebanon."

Your response to this appeal was to write in your second column about two weeks later that

> although Podhoretz did not accuse every opponent of Israel's policies of being anti-Semitic, he was mistaken to the extent that he suggested that any of those he quoted (this side of the fever swamps inhabited by such as Alexander Cockburn) is motivated by anti-Semitism.

But I was never talking about *motivation*; I was talking about words on paper, and I said that both in the interest of intellectual honesty and for the sake of social hygiene, those words could, indeed must, be characterized

---

*I spoke, as I usually do, from notes, but the account of the speech in the *Jerusalem Post*, on which Brownfeld relied, was reasonably accurate. Which is more than I can say for Brownfeld's interpretation. Though you for some reason see fit to transcribe this piece of disinformation, you do at least assume that my speech, "coming to us third hand, contained qualifications . . . that Mr. Brownfeld either is not aware of or else is disinclined to quote." Indeed it did. Thus, you would not know from Brownfeld that the question I was asked to address was whether the editors of and contributors to local Jewish papers had any special Jewish responsibility. My answer was that they were free to disclaim it, but *insofar as they accepted such a responsibility*, it was to defend Israel rather than to join in the ideological campaign against the Jewish state—which I took (and take) to be a war against the Jewish people as a whole. What Brownfeld did with this was use it to show that no one, not even "Israeli critics of Israel's policy in Lebanon," was safe from my reckless accusations of anti-Semitism.

as anti-Semitic. About five years later, in arguing with you about Joe Sobran, I again emphasized that the question of whether he was an anti-Semite could be left to those who presume to know the secrets of the human heart; as for me, it was enough to observe that he had written anti-Semitic articles.

TO CLARIFY the distinction further, I will add that any person not motivated by anti-Semitism who wishes to avoid being called anti-Semitic need only refrain from voicing anti-Semitic ideas or sentiments. And might we not expect that such a person would be appalled if shown, through careful documentation and analysis, that he has blundered into anti-Semitism? For example, Nicholas von Hoffman, whose anti-Semitic remarks I cited in "J'Accuse," had the decency to be thus appalled at the sight of what he had said.

Sobran, however, was not only unrepentant, he was defiant. Like Pat Buchanan after him, who would declare, "I don't retract a single word," Sobran stuck by his guns; and, again anticipating Buchanan, he represented himself as an innocent victim of Jewish pressure, a courageous speaker of forbidden truths who, if the Jews had their way, would be censored.

You agreed when I said that Sobran was unrepentant. But you became (in your own word) "peevish" when I expressed my dismay at the fact that, in violation as I saw it of your promise to keep him from writing on Jewish themes, you nevertheless had opened the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW to his counterattack. Although you declared that I was mistaken in viewing this as a violation, what seemed to bother you most was not my public statement [in *Commentary*'s correspondence column, March 1987] that you had thereby "tarnished your previously honorable record on this sorry episode." What really riled you was my private remark (in a letter to your colleague Jeff Hart) that the publication of this counterattack lent "credence to all those like Marty Peretz who have attacked me for being too easy on Buckley."

You felt then, and you evidently still feel, that I had committed a double sin against you here. First, I had shown excessive "docility" toward Peretz's criticisms of NATIONAL REVIEW; but more seriously, I had conspicuously failed to dissociate myself from his statement in a *New Republic* editorial that "the old Catholic Right has always had trouble with the Jewish problem. This explains why Buckley has made things so cozy for an unabashed bigot like columnist Joseph Sobran."

We differed then, and we continue to differ, on whether I had a duty to do unto Peretz (who after all neither worked for me nor spoke for me) what you had done unto Sobran. Indeed, you were not even mollified when I informed you in a letter that I was so outraged by the *New Republic* editorial in question that "I hung up on [Peretz] when he too remained unrepentant in response to my call of protest." All you knew was that I should have made a public disavowal comparable to the one you had made of Sobran's columns.

All right, then, I will make one now—of Peretz's allegations 1) that you were in effect letting Sobran off the hook, and 2) that you have "trouble with the Jewish problem" (a euphemism, I suppose, for a residual degree of anti-Semitism). In my judgment—a judgment richly confirmed by "In Search of Anti-Semitism"—the only trouble you have with the Jewish problem is that it will not let you rest, and that you feel called upon over and over again to struggle with it and think about it and talk about it and write about it. (I have the same trouble myself.)

But this does not mean that I agree with you that Peretz is guilty of "blind intolerance of nuance in any discussion of Israel." For my money he is all too tolerant of such nuance when it comes from his friends on the Left, especially Irving Howe and Michael Walzer. Furthermore—to throw you a nuance of my own of which I trust you will be tolerant—I myself have been upset by the irritable and needling editorials on Israel which have appeared from time to time in NATIONAL REVIEW. This is not because I have regarded them as anti-Semitic. It is because on general conservative principles I would have expected NATIONAL REVIEW to be friendlier to Israel than it seemed to be—as friendly, say, as some other Christians of conservative political bent (Jeane Kirkpatrick, Michael Novak, Bob Tyrrell, George Weigel, and George Will, to name only a few).

Marty Peretz, is, of course, Jewish, but I have to tell you that, as I honor the likes of Kirkpatrick, Novak, Tyrrell, Weigel, and Will, I honor Peretz as well for his championship of Israel at a time when it takes real courage in liberal circles to stand up for that besieged and beleaguered country against the relentless ideological assault to which it is being subjected.

I also have to tell you in all candor that I cannot in all conscience disavow Peretz's charge that—to repeat, present company excepted—the old Catholic Right in general "has trouble with the Jewish problem." For in spite of the laudable efforts which have been made by the Church in recent years to eliminate anti-Semitism from Catholic teaching, the Vatican still refuses to recognize the state of Israel. If this is not a symptom of trouble with the Jewish problem, what is it?

WHICH BRINGS me back to the role of Israel in anti-Semitism today. "In searching out the meaning of contemporary anti-Semitism," you observe, "it is useful to ask whether in order to qualify as a contemporary anti-Semite one needs to be anti-Israel." The answer is, Not necessarily, but it certainly helps—though I reiterate that I would put it in terms that stress ideas and attitudes rather than motives or conscious intentions.

Here again, instead of paraphrasing myself, I will follow your example and quote freely from what I have written in *Commentary* on this subject in the past. First, on why and how Israel has become the main focus of anti-Semitism in a post-Holocaust world:

> [It] is a testimony to the persisting vitality of anti-Semitism [that], expelled more or less successfully from domestic society in the countries where once it flourished, [it] now reappears, suitably translated into the current language and modalities of international life, to deal with the phenomenon of a Jewish state among other states as it once dealt with Jewish individuals and communities living in states dominated by other religious or ethnic groups ["The Abandonment of Israel," July 1976].

Or, putting the point in another way:

> . . . it is perfectly true that anti-Zionism is not necessarily anti-Semitism. But it is also true, I fear, that the distinction between the two is often invisible to the

> naked Jewish eye, and that anti-Zionism has served to legitimate the open expression of a good deal of anti-Semitism which might otherwise have remained subject to the taboo against anti-Semitism that prevailed . . . from the time of Hitler until, roughly, the Six Day War ["A Certain Anxiety," August 1971].

Lastly, on how the process of refocusing works:

> Historically anti-Semitism has taken the form of labeling certain vices and failings as specifically Jewish when they are in fact common to all humanity: Jews are greedy, Jews are tricky, Jews are ambitious, Jews are clannish—as though Jews were uniquely or disproportionately guilty of all those sins. Correlatively, Jews are condemned when they claim or exercise the right to do things that all other people are accorded an unchallengeable right to do.*
>
> As applied to the Jewish state, this tradition has been transmuted into the double standard by which Israel is invariably judged . . . [A]ll other people are entitled to national self-determination, but when the Jews exercise this right, they are committing the crimes of racism and imperialism. Similarly, all other nations have a right to ensure the security of their borders; when Israel exercises this right, it is committing the crime of aggression. So, too, only Israel of all the states in the world is required to prove that its very existence—not merely its interests or the security of its borders, but its very existence—is in immediate peril before it can justify the resort to force ["J'Accuse," September 1982].

This point you now do get; you even call it "logically sound." But even though you now defend me against the canard that in my eyes "mere opposition to an Israeli policy constitutes anti-Semitism," you still seem to resist what logically follows from my "logically sound" point—namely, that criticisms of Israel based on this particular double standard, rooted as it is in the ancient traditions of anti-Semitic propaganda, deserve to be stigmatized as, quite simply, anti-Semitic.

I live in hopes that you will some day get that point as well.

---

*You refer to this passage no fewer than three times. The first time you astonishingly misinterpret it to mean that I classify "as anti-Semitic anyone who ascribes to Jews characteristics uniquely Jewish." The second time you summarize it accurately. But by the third time, you have forgotten the second and are back to the first ("*pace* Norman Podhoretz, it ought not to be considered racist to speak of group characteristics.") Is it any wonder, then, that you so often leave me feeling that, where anti-Semitism is concerned, you are uncharacteristically capable of obtuseness?

4. A Letter from William Pfaff

HIT A glancing blow in the course of Mr. Buckley's article on anti-Semitism, allow me to complain that in writing about me Mr. Buckley addresses what Norman Podhoretz says that I have said, not what I have actually said. My name occurs first in his article in connection with the Gore Vidal–*Nation* affair. I did comment upon that episode but never said that Vidal was an "innocent 'critic' " of Israel. I said that the controversy between Vidal and the Podhoretzes was being conducted with "nailed clubs," and that I "knew the Podhoretzes, and respect[ed] Miss Decter in particular, as a writer of high, if humorless, seriousness." I added that I believed that she and her husband had every right "to give particular support to Israel out of commitment to Judaism or to the Jewish community and cultural tradition . . . without having imputed to them a lack of patriotism . . . or divided loyalties." Mr. Podhoretz—in what Mr. Buckley describes as his "solemn and responsible criticism" of me—did not tell you that.

There are other things Norman Podhoretz does not tell his readers. My dispute with him derives from a newspaper column critical of Israeli policy written after the massacre of Palestinians by Christian militiamen in Beirut in September 1982. Mr. Podhoretz considered this column anti-Semitic, and attacked it, with selective quotation from it, in the *Commentary* article he entitled (with characteristic modesty) "J'Accuse." As I did not see this attack until months later, and considered the accusation preposterous, I did not reply.

Some time later Mr. Podhoretz returned to the attack, saying in *Commentary* that I was (as I recall it; I don't have the piece before me) the only one of the Guilty Men named in "J'Accuse" who had not explained himself to Mr. Podhoretz.

This time I thought an answer necessary. I wrote a letter to the editor of *Commentary* saying, "There follows the text of a newspaper article of mine which Mr. Podhoretz has described as anti-Semitic. I am content to have the readers of *Commentary* read it and form their own judgment . . ." Mr. Podhoretz answered that he would not print my letter. Thinking the problem one of space, I cut the letter and resubmitted it: "There follow the relevant passages . . ." etc.

Mr. Podhoretz replied that it was "out of the question" to publish even my excerpts of what I had originally written. He would publish only a letter in which I could dispute his interpretation of a column which his readers were not to be permitted to read. I told him to forget it. (My offer stands. *Commentary* can run the column—the whole text—any time it wants. So, for that matter, can *NR*.)

It is again on the basis of what Mr. Podhoretz has written that Mr. Buckley describes me as saying that Jewish-Americans attempt to "manipulate" U.S. policy. Nonsense. That is paranoia language. I don't believe it and have never said it. They try to influence policy—as well they might; why shouldn't they? So do I.

MY COMPLAINT aside, of the great deal more to be said on the larger controversy Mr. Buckley admirably addresses, the issue of selective criticism of Israel strikes me as fundamental. Israelis, and Israel's friends, often complain that Americans (and Europeans) attack Israel for faults they ignore in the conduct of other countries. This is true.

I do so myself because I consider Israel part of the political and moral community in which I live, to which I am committed, and for which I feel a responsibility. I am surprised that anyone would wish Israel to be judged by any other standards than those of the liberal democratic Western community.

I write critically about Israel—and even more often about France, Britain, Germany, etc., and above all, the United States—because I expect much of them. These are my people, democrats, members of Western liberal culture, part of a civilization and a moral inheritance to which I, as an American and a Catholic Christian, belong, and which is shared by a very small minority of those alive in the world today.

The survival and success of this community is by no means assured. One reason for that is its amply demonstrated tendency toward abandonment of its own standards and hence toward suicidal conduct. Its values must be defended internally as well as externally, or we all risk sinking. On the other hand I don't often write columns deploring the failure of Syria or Sudan or Burma or China to meet Western standards of behavior because I don't expect much of their political conduct to begin with. To say that is, I know, highly "incorrect" in the United States today, but I have been politically incorrect all my life and am too old to change now. That of course is exactly my problem with Mr. Podhoretz.

---

5. A Letter from Irving Kristol

MY FIRST reaction to Bill Buckley's article was that it was very long. Even the quotations were long, though the quotations from me seemed not so long.

My second reaction was one of surprise. I am certainly not insensitive to anti-Semitism, but it has been my distinct impression that there is probably less of it today than at any other period in my lifetime. I grew up in the shadow of Hitlerism and was disturbed (to put it mildly) by the echoes of Hitler's anti-Semitism to be found on the fringes of the America First movement—and sometimes not only on the fringes. When I went into the army, it was in a Midwest regiment recruited mainly from Chicago and Cicero, and the anti-Semitism I encountered was blatant, often brutal. So I have vivid memories of the "bad old days" and I therefore have been inclined to be rather dismissive of the current intermittent, marginal symptoms that one occasionally reads about. After all, today something in excess of one-third of all Jews marry Gentiles, and I have been more interested in this fact, as a portent for American Jewry, than in some young punks defacing a Jewish cemetery or vandalizing a synagogue. But then I recall that the intermarriage rate in Germany, under the Weimar Republic, was just about as high as that, and I begin to wonder whether there is a kind of auto-immune response within a body politic still overwhelmingly Christian.

Bill's essay has persuaded me that I have indeed been too complacent. Some months ago, *The New Republic* sent around a questionnaire asking respondents their opinion as to whether Pat Buchanan's columns were anti-Semitic, as some were claiming. I said then that I did not believe that Buchanan—whom I have known for some years—was personally or politically anti-Semitic but rather had allowed his irritation with the liberal commitment of the majority of the Jewish community to spill over into remarks that, if uttered by someone else, could easily be taken to be anti-Semitic. I would now revise that judgment.

I STILL cannot find it in my heart to say that Pat Buchanan is personally anti-Semitic, but he definitely is politically so. There is no other way of explaining his newfound compassion and concern for Palestinians on the West Bank, or his harsh judgments for Israeli policy there as being "unjust" and morally reprehensible. Whatever one thinks of that policy, it makes no sense for Buchanan to single it out as his sole, moralistic venture into international compassion. The whole tenor of his approach to American foreign policy has been narrowly "realistic"—too narrow and simplistic, in my view. Yet when he talks about Israel he sounds as one would expect him to sound were he talking about Saddam Hussein, about whom, in fact, he is so reticent. A reasonable interpretation is that this is a rhetorical sublimation, for reasons of political expediency, of a deeper anti-Jewish impulse.

But how important is Pat Buchanan, anyhow? As a national political figure, not important, I would confidently assert. But so far as American conservatism is concerned, he is very important. Pat Buchanan is ostensibly running for President, but in truth his ambition is to assume leadership and to reshape the American conservative movement. Should he succeed, this movement will have suffered its greatest defeat since the election of 1964, which set the liberal tone for American politics for the next 15 years.

Pat Buchanan is not a conservative, he is a reactionary. Now, I am fond of *cultural* reactionaries, because the reactionary impulse can be so creative and fruitful in its cultural dimensions. After all, the three greatest poets in the English language this century—W. B. Yeats, T. S. Eliot, and Philip Larkin—have been reactionaries. So have been some of our finest novelists (e.g., Evelyn Waugh). But in a dynamic, capitalist society, being a *political* reactionary is a ticket to oblivion. We have seen this happen with some of our Southern novelists, poets, and critics—among our finest—who tried, back in the 1920s, to translate literary nostalgia into a sort of pseudo-agrarian social program. This was, and remains, little more than a cultural oddity. Similarly, Pope Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors* ought to be studied by all liberals, who would benefit from the challenge to their basic beliefs. But political conservatives who take it too seriously are doomed to irrelevance.

Pat Buchanan is seeking to shape the conservative movement along reactionary lines. And behind him there has formed a curious coalition of what have been called "paleo-conservatives" —i.e., conservatives of the 1930s–1950s vintage. These include Taft Republicans, America First isolationists, passionate anti-statists, and a sprinkling of "Southern" intellectuals who admire Jefferson Davis at the expense of Abraham Lincoln. But the basic thrust of this mini-movement is, in a profound sense, radical and anti-political. These people really do want to turn the clock a long ways back—a proper aesthetic agenda but never a serious political agenda. Only a revolution can turn a society's clock back to any substantial degree, and the "paleos" may have revolutionary enthusiasm but nothing of great interest to say to the live human beings who constitute the American public.

It is important to note that we are not dealing here with a pro-Reagan reaction to George Bush's centrism. Though Pat Buchanan has too much political sense to say so, the quasi-official view of the "paleos" is that Ronald Reagan betrayed conservatism because he didn't simply abolish the welfare state, lock, stock, and barrel. Admirers and supporters of Ronald Reagan understand that, while reforming the welfare state is a proper conservative goal, abolition is not in the cards—as the experience of Margaret Thatcher, with her Conservative majority in Parliament, conclusively demonstrates. One might leap to the conclusion, as many "paleos" have, that the people in our Western democracies are all in a sad state of corruption. But abolishing people who get in the way of a political agenda is a left-wing idea, not a conservative one.

And how does anti-Semitism fit into all this? It is a symbolic issue, a signal light that holds this radical coalition together. It is, after all, a coalition with many internal stresses and contradictions. The Jews provide—as they always do—a scapegoat, which is also a unifying force for people of various frustrations. I do not believe for a moment that these people really have it in mind to persecute Jews (though they may decide to persecute Israel as a proxy). But who knows what fires a few random sparks can set off? In any case, by importing into American conservatism a set of anti-Semitic innuendoes, they are debasing the conservative movement and robbing it, in the eyes of the public, of its political legitimacy.

That is why I think, in the end, that Bill Buckley's essay is so important. It is a forceful statement, by our leading American conservative, as to what kind of political body and what kind of political soul American conservatism is to possess.

6. An Editorial by James M. Wall

WILLIAM BUCKLEY, who first achieved fame with his book on the anti-religious environment at Yale University, recently addressed the issue of secularity in a lengthy and carefully nuanced essay on anti-Semitism in NATIONAL REVIEW. Acknowledging the difficulty of identifying anti-Semitism, Buckley nevertheless boldly concludes that he has found anti-Semitism in the writings of some of his colleagues on the political Right as well as among those on the Left such as Gore Vidal.

NATIONAL REVIEW Editor John O'Sullivan points out that Buckley's essay is "ten times as long as the average cover story," but he says the topic was important and sensitive enough to dictate printing the entire article. It was a good decision. As one of the chief figures in American conservatism, Buckley is well situated to address a topic which has unfortunately been introduced into the 1992 presidential campaign by Republican candidates David Duke and Pat Buchanan. Buckley's careful treatment is especially valuable because Buchanan and conservative writer Joseph Sobran are among his close friends. Much of his article focuses on whether it is possible to criticize the state of Israel without being labeled anti-Semitic. Buckley believes it is, but he argues that Buchanan and Sobran have gone beyond such criticism.

The essay will no doubt become an important guide in the public debate on Israel and its critics, for it outlines the complexity of an issue that touches upon politics, human rights, and religion. In a concluding section Buckley turns his attention to the religion clauses in the Bill of Rights, which, he believes, provide a second point of tension in our current concern for properly identifying anti-Semitism. Buckley quotes from an essay by Irving Kristol published three years ago in NATIONAL REVIEW, because, he admits, Kristol is Jewish, and because "I cannot surpass him in lucid social analysis." Kristol points to the "tension that is now building up between Jews and Christians," a tension that "has very little to do with traditional discrimination, and everything to do with efforts by liberals—among whom, I regret to say, Jews are both numerous and prominent—to establish a wall between religion and society, in the guise of maintaining the wall between church and state."

Two hundred years after the adoption of the religion clauses, Kristol argues, the prevailing liberal mindset is far more concerned with avoiding religious establishment than in encouraging religious expression. Specifically, Kristol says, "the major Jewish organizations proceed from the correct proposition that legally and constitutionally we are not a Christian nation, to the absurd proposition that we are in no sense at all a Christian society." Even though the overwhelming majority of Americans are Christians, these Jewish organizations insist that Christians' religion "be a totally private affair, one that finds no public expression and receives no public deference. Such insistence shows a lamentable ignorance of history, sociology, and psychology."

Kristol offers a devastating critique of the liberal Protestant organizations that have been "more keenly interested in social reform than in religious belief." Lukewarm Christianity, Kristol suggests, is more attractive to Jews because they assume, incorrectly in his view, that social-minded religious people will be less likely to produce the sort of anti-Semitism "our Jewish ancestors experienced for centuries in Europe." He thinks this is a faulty assumption because vicious anti-Semitism is not Christian anti-Semitism, but neopagan (Nazi and fascist), Muslim fundamentalist, Marxist, or "simply nationalist chauvinist anti-Semitism, of a kind one now finds in Japan (of all places!) or Latin America."

The Framers of the Bill of Rights could not have anticipated the rich pluralism of contemporary America, but they give us a framework in which pluralism is something to cherish, not to fear. We must be vigilant in protecting minority rights. But we must also be careful not to read the "no establishment" clause so as to restrict all public expressions of faith and hence dilute the meaning of "free exercise."

The "free exercise" clause applies to all faith groups equally and should not

---

Mr. Wall is the editor of The Christian Century, *from whose January 15 issue this editorial is excerpted.*

be seen as a threat to those that are in the minority—precisely the groups that the "no establishment" clause was designed to protect.

7. A Letter from A. M. Rosenthal

ONE POINT I would like to clear up for your readers has to do with the mysterious three weeks between the time Mr. Buchanan made his comments about the "amen corner" and the time I attacked him in my column.

Mr. Buchanan, as you knew when you brought up the issue in your article, made this time-lapse the basis for saying that the Anti-Defamation League and I had been parties to some kind of plot—which I am sure you recognize as the old Jew-conspiracy bit.

You did not say that directly, of course, but you did call attention to the "whole three weeks," suggested orchestration, and left it all in an air of mystery.

All you had to do to clear up this mystery was to lift up the phone and ask me; you never did. I would have been happy to tell you that I was out of the country when Buchanan made those cracks on NBC. I was on vacation in Majorca and previously in Oslo, attending a conference on hatred.

So I did not know a thing about Buchanan's statements that only the Israeli Defense Ministry and its American "amen corner" wanted war in the Gulf until I returned to the United States.

I found waiting for me communications from the ADL, an admirable and useful organization, which I believe were sent to other journalists they hoped would pay attention but who did not and from a couple or three readers sickened by Buchanan's nastiness. I played one of the tapes of the broadcasts I received. Thereupon I pulled out my file on Buchanan and anti-Semitism, a plump one, and decided the time had come to do a column on the man, overcoming my distaste at the idea.

Later, an executive of the ADL sent out a memo to his board rejoicing in and taking credit for the ADL part in calling my attention to the broadcast. I am delighted to thank the ADL for alerting me, as I thank others who did so.

The only real mystery in the affair is why in those "whole three weeks" no other columnist, to my knowledge, wrote about the Buchanan performance and why it has taken you a year and some months even to dance gingerly up to what should have been obvious at once—that what he has had to say could only come from the mouth, mind, and motivations not of somebody who just said "anti-Semitic things" for reasons you cannot seem to fathom, but from an anti-Semite, whose reasons grow out of his very condition.

A. M. ROSENTHAL

Tim Bower

Comment by WFB

Sorry, I fail to see your point. 1) It is obvious that an Anti-Defamation League should protest to its principal constituency evidence of anti-Semitism. 2) Whether that protest ignited your column, or whether you'd have noticed the inflammatory comments by Pat Buchanan if you had been in America, isn't especially important. 3) It is above all interesting that the question of Buchanan's anti-Semitism became a national question only after the publication of your column: If Buchanan were as conspicuously evil as you take him to be, one must suppose that someone else would have raised an alarm. Otherwise we are required to deduce that every time you go to Oslo or to Majorca, the conscience of America sleeps.

Column by AMR, New York Times, *January 21*

AFTER more than a year of study of the abundant record, William F. Buckley Jr., columnist, novelist, television host, lecturer, and distinguished sailor, finally has delivered the judgment that Patrick Buchanan, Republican candidate for the Presidency, really has said "things about Jews" that are anti-Semitic.

For this discovery, part of a voyage for which he felt it his duty to skipper first his intellectual ship and now the readers of his magazine through 40,000 words, Mr. Buckley is receiving the applause of those editorial writers, columnists, and friends who had worried about him while he was pitching so far out at sea.

He devotes a whole issue of his NATIONAL REVIEW to the article, which he calls "In Search of Anti-Semitism" and will preserve as a book. Obviously he considers he has made landfall after an arduous and significant exploration, although it may surprise many that anti-Semitism is so very difficult to find.

Mr. Buckley is considered the delineator of American conservatism. Mr. Buchanan now is thoughtfully trying to transfer this weight from Mr. Buckley's shoulders to his own.

So the judgment by Mr. Buckley is understandably welcome to Americans—conservative or otherwise—who have long regarded Mr. Buchanan as an anti-Semite, even though Mr. Buckley still cannot bring himself to use so blunt a noun about him.

Also, Mr. Buckley's article will buoy those who felt they had to wait for somebody certifiably both conservative and non-Jewish to lead before they spoke up about Mr. Buchanan's "things."

But unfortunately Mr. Buckley's pronouncement is not likely to change the minds of readers inclined toward Mr. Buchanan, in New Hampshire or anywhere else. One reason is that Mr.

Buckley *does not even try* to make sense of Mr. Buchanan's anti-Semitism by dealing with its roots—and *particularly its political* motivations. And he does not even suggest to fellow Republicans that Mr. Buchanan's *anti-Semitic comments* might be a reason to vote against him.

Moreover, the Buchanan section is *so genteel about* him, written with such absence of real censure, with such contradiction and evasion, and is so late and tortuous that politically and intellectually it destroys itself—a pity.

Mr. Buckley's only outrage is for those who had previously attacked Mr. Buchanan as an anti-Semite. For instance, Mr. Buckley was ballistically annoyed when on September 14, 1990, I wrote that Mr. Buchanan's demeaning of Holocaust reality, his lie that only Jews wanted war with Saddam Hussein, and so on, were anti-Semitic and dared suggest that anti-Semitism could lead to Auschwitz.

In the current article, Mr. Buckley reprints his column denouncing the idea. He now assures us that "an anti-Semitic crack like Buchanan's isn't of the kind that threatens" what Mr. Buckley delicately calls the "discrete territory of Auschwitz." In the post-Hitler world, he says, "workaday" anti-Semitism is not genocidal.

Workaday.

But then he writes about people trying to distinguish between "country club" anti-Semitism and "naked anti-Israelism and genocidal indifference." And he adds that the "pain"—whose?—comes from the "historical knowledge that prejudice of the first kind can metastasize—and has done so, to be sure by mutation—into Auschwitz."

So what does he really believe about Mr. Buchanan? Not much. In 1990 Mr. Buckley found Mr. Buchanan guilty of nothing worse than "clumsy forensic" manners. Even now, musing on the mystery of Mr. Buchanan's anti-Semitism, he suggests graciously that it may be an "iconoclastic temperament," which implies bravery.

No: anybody who keeps saying anti-Semitic "things" is no mystery, just one more anti-Semite. Over the centuries, as now, that has taken no iconoclastic daring, just hate and cowardice.

Since the 1990 explosion about his anti-Semitism Mr. Buchanan has refused to retract a word. But he keeps his obsession about Jews better zippered. Temporary, but it does demonstrate that the best weapon against anti-Semitism is to spot it and expose it fast and plain.

Mr. Buckley has often shown himself a man of intellectual clarity and good heart. So I hope he gets back in the boat and keeps sailing and searching. If he makes true landfall he can send us a more helpful log.

8. A Letter from Alan M. Dershowitz

William Buckley observed that "even Harvard Professor Alan Dershowitz, ordinarily an outspoken advocate of the First Amendment, declared that Buchanan should be removed from the national media." Here is precisely what I said:

"If the issue were whether the government should censor Buchanan's bigoted views, I would fight for his freedom of speech as forcefully as I fought for the rights of Nazis to march through the city of Skokie, Illinois. But the question is whether private American newspapers and television stations should continue to give Buchanan a mainstream platform for his anti-Semitism."

Not only is my approach entirely consistent with the First Amendment, it is precisely the approach taken by William Buckley, in dissociating NATIONAL REVIEW from right-wing bigots. Private publications have a First Amendment right *not* to publish objectionable views; there will always be enough bigoted publications that are willing to.

Mr. Buckley also neglected to mention my criticism of the ACLU for not defending the rights of the *Dartmouth Review* students.

9. A Letter from David Frum

My reaction on reading your brave essay on anti-Semitism was apprehension that you might be about to encounter the form of ingratitude that the late Isaac Bashevis Singer described to Sanford Pinsker, who retells it in Toronto's *Idler* magazine:

"Singer was once invited to read a story to a group of Yiddishists in Brooklyn. They begged him to come, even though they were too poor to be able to pay him. But, their spokesman argued, at least he would be among *landsmen*, people who understand Yiddish, not like when he visits fancy-shmanzy colleges and people make fun of his accent.

" 'What could I do?' Singer told me. 'These are old people, so I went. The cab ride to Brooklyn cost me $35. And when I finally arrived, who was there? Maybe 12 people altogether. So I read them a new story. No sooner am I finished than the first person gets up and says the following: This is not a good story. This is not a Zionist story. I spit on your story. And he proceeded to spit on the floor in anger, and then to sit down.

" 'At that point the next person gets up and says: This is not a good story. This is not an orthodox story. This is a dirty story, so I also spit on your story. And like the first man, he spat on the floor in anger and sat down.

" 'Others objected that the story was not a socialist story or a nice story or even a properly Yiddish story; but about one thing they agreed: it was definitely not a good story. In fact, one man spat on the story twice—once because it was not a Zionist story and once because it was not an orthodox story. So from 12 people I collected 13 spits.' "

Just in case some tiresome self-appointed defender of the faith like Alan Dershowitz or Richard Cohen has been spitting on the floor and complaining that your essay was not written exactly as he would have it written, I wanted you to know that in this house it was greeted with applause and thanks.

10. A Letter from Robert D. Novak

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY'S exploration of anti-Semitism leads, I fear, into a trap where any criticism of Israel exposes the critic to being branded with the scarlet A as an anti-Semite.

Let me begin with the reason why I have been invited to contribute to this discussion: my response to David Frum's attack on Pat Buchanan published in *The American Spectator*. Mr. Buckley misrepresents me as follows: "Novak had made a vulnerable point when he wrote that Buchanan has after all written millions of words that do not even touch on Jewish questions (the classic antecedent of this form of casuistry is the legendary Irishman being tried for murder who volunteers to bring in thirty people who did not see him commit the crime)."

What I actually did write was quite different, that "the body of his writing" does not "support the indictment" of anti-Semitism. But even that arguable contention has to be placed in perspective. Mr. Frum's long assault on Buchanan as a "bully-boy" outside the mainstream of conservatism does not allege anti-Semitism by other than insinuation until the last paragraph, when he asserts that Buchanan's "real message is inseparable from his sly Jew-baiting."

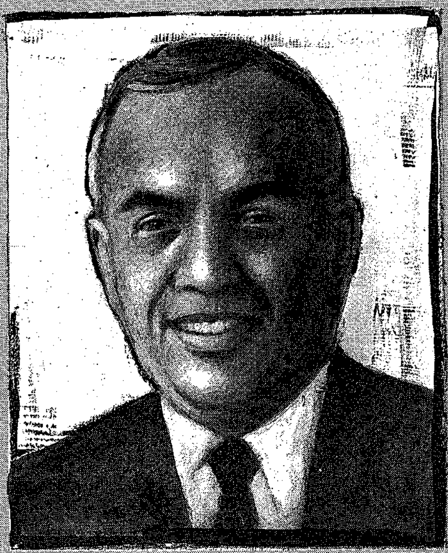
My position on the danger of this mischief was spelled out in this response:

"It is particularly reprehensible that an article that starts by questioning Buchanan's criticism of neoconservative funding ends with a gratuitous accusation of 'Jew-baiting.' The connection is ludicrous. The two targets most vocally unhappy about Buchanan's [anti-]neocon column—[Bob] Tyrrell and Bill Bennett—are, like Buchanan, Roman Catholics . . .

"A final word on anti-Semitism. In the wake of Hitler's Holocaust, it is unpardonable and impermissible. But the very unacceptability of the offense mandates that any accusation must be founded in fact, not in surmise or fancy. Buchanan is no anti-Semite, as anybody who knows him well will avow. Nor does the body of his writing support the indictment."

Unlike the case of Mr. Buckley's Irishman, that is not merely a case of Buchanan now and again failing to attack Jews. If it can be stipulated that no supporter of Israel is by definition anti-Semitic, how can Buchanan's previous writings in support of Israeli policy be explained? Did he awake one morning and suddenly find himself a full-blown anti-Semite compelled to attack Israel? On the contrary, he simply changed his mind about Israeli government policy.

Yet, Mr. Buckley decrees that Buchanan's writings "could not reasonably be interpreted as other than anti-Semitic in substance." But there is nothing in those writings that degrades Jews or calls for their exclusion from this or that activity.


Tim Bower

ROBERT D. NOVAK

Buchanan's specific sin that caused all the commotion was to state an indisputable fact: that Israel and its American-Jewish supporters were uncommonly anxious to commence the war against Saddam Hussein, while the amount of Jewish-Americans in the fighting force was quite small. Buchanan stated that fact with characteristic hyperbole, but it is quite a stretch to call it anti-Semitic.

His overriding sin, since he changed his mind a few years ago, has been to seem "anti-Israel." Mr. Buckley implies that is prima facie proof of anti-Semitism, while he excuses what seem clearer cases of hostility toward Jews by conservatives Stephen Tonsor and Russell Kirk. Mr. Buckley calls it "mischievous" to ascribe creeping anti-Semitism to Tonsor's claim that conservatism must be Christian and to Kirk's allegation that the neoconservatism of Irving Kristol is just a ploy to help Israel. You could have fooled me.

Mr. Buckley similarly seems far less concerned by country-club anti-Semitism than "naked anti-Israelism." Yet over the centuries hatred of Jews has been expressed by exclusion: exclusion from the country club at the lowest level ranging up the scale to exclusion from Yale University, exclusion from the old German general staff, exclusion from Spain for half a millennium, and, ultimately, in the case of Hitler, exclusion from the living.

The very notion that "naked anti-Israelism" connotes anti-Semitism charges into a semantical thicket. Anyone who opposes the idea of Israel's existence today has made a good case for calling him anti-Semitic. General George Marshall was no anti-Semite when he opposed the creation of the Jewish state a half-century ago because of what he perceived as threatened U.S. interests, but he could not continue to take that position today without being presumed guilty of bias. If on the other hand a writer recognizes Israel's right to exist (as Buchanan surely does), his culpability as an anti-Semite is markedly reduced.

But Elie Wiesel brands Buchanan as an anti-Semite "because he is a man who is constantly critical of Israel." Thus, it is not necessary to be anti-Israel, only critical of Israel. But is criticism of the current government of Israel really being critical of Israel? If so, Abba Eban and even Yitzhak Rabin would, absurdly, qualify for Mr. Wiesel's anti-Semitic condemnation.

MR. BUCKLEY correctly suggests the existence of taboos in writing about Israel and incorrectly implies that observance of these taboos will avoid allegations of anti-Semitism. Here, I must refer to the experience of the Evans & Novak column, whose criticism of Israeli government policy dates back to the aftermath of the 1967 war. A note on why we have written so much about the subject: the Middle East has been both an incubator of war and a vital area for U.S. economic and strategic interests, which we do not feel are inconsistent with the health and security of Israel.

We have carefully scrubbed every one of the hundreds of such columns we have written to eliminate all wording that might be deemed offensive. For example, when the Israeli government complained years ago that our reference to it as "Tel Aviv" (as the American government is called "Washington" and the former Soviet government was called "Moscow" in journalistic jargon) came straight out of Arab propaganda, we instantly stopped the practice even though few states recognize Jerusalem as the Israeli capital.

To no avail. We have been continually accused of anti-Semitism, even though our criticism of Israeli government policy mirrors the position of many prominent Israelis. When A. M. Rosenthal says, "I didn't attack him [Buchanan] because of what he said about Israel and Iraq but because he put in anti-Semitic language," he is disingenuous. When we recently published new information about the 1967 sinking by Israeli forces of the *U.S.S. Liberty* in language that contained no taint of anti-Semitic rhetoric, Mr. Rosenthal assailed us vigorously (and unfairly). He is the journalistic cop on the beat guarding against any criticism of the Israeli government's conduct.

Making accusations of anti-Semitism is a serious business. In the nearly 29-year run of the Evans & Novak column, we have been attacked, properly, by those we attack. But the only sustained, serious, and organized effort to silence us has come from the pro-Israel lobby. Attempts have been made, often by advertisers, to remove our column from newspapers—occasionally with success.

It is distressing to see Mr. Buckley, whom I so greatly admire as one of this nation's great forces for good during my lifetime, ally himself with those who feel that views contrary to the Israeli government must be suppressed. "It would not have been inappropriate," Mr. Buckley writes, "for newspaper editors who publish Pat Buchanan to decline to publish those of his columns that touched on Jewish or Israeli questions, pending evidence that he would more carefully observe the civilized distinctions."

But what are the "civilized distinctions"? When AIPAC urges readers to write editors to remove columnists opposed to its views, it is trying to prevent full discussion of the Israeli question. This intent is only obscured when criticism of the Israeli government's policies is equated with the evil, immoral sin of anti-Semitism.

11. A Letter from Hugh Kenner

The points on which I agree with Joe Sobran are 1a) that the state of Israel is mighty arrogant in its presumption of entitlement to U.S. handouts and general compliance; 1b) that a large & influential U.S. Jewish population shares this presumption (and of course must be taken stock of by U.S. Administrations); 2) that "anti-Semitism" is a rather facile label for habitual objection to 1a and 1b. Also, I did think that in your *NR* piece you were rather freely pasting the anti-Semitic label on people whom Jewish opinion calls anti-Semitic because they balk at 1a and 1b.

I note from a recent *New York Times* that Abe Rosenthal (whose company, by the way, I've enjoyed on two occasions) was not satisfied with your treatment of Pat Buchanan. It is surely evident that such as he will never be satisfied by anything short of a casting of whoever annoys them into outer darkness, and I think it is a mistake to let them control the terms of discourse. "Anti-Semitism"—here I agree with Joe—has no stable meaning; it can run all the way from gas ovens to a mere wish that Abe R. would moderate his frenzies. And a term that has no stable meaning is simply not a profitable head for rational discussions.

12. A Letter from Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

As one named as a party to earlier discussions of the subject of anti-Semitism, I must invoke a personal privilege. Mr. Buckley has unintentionally mislabeled me as one of those who share "the conviction . . . that U.S. policy is manipulated by Jewish Americans who are hell-bent on serving Israeli interests and are prepared to use the weapon of alleged anti-Semitism to immobilize their opponents."

In fact, I have never stated any such view and do not hold it now. Perhaps such an inference could be drawn from my intervention in the Vidal–Podhoretz controversy. My two cents' worth on that matter was prompted by a historical point: the curious report or allegation that Norman Podhoretz had said the American Civil War was as unengaging to him as the War of the Roses—a view which, I am assured, he did not and does not hold.

After long and vigorous support of Israel, I suddenly find myself mistaken for one possibly hostile to its interests. This is positively Kafkaesque. I have written critically of Israeli leadership and policy on occasion—I was irritated by the Pollard affair and abhorred the invasion of Lebanon. For the rest, I have written favorably of both scores and scores of times over more than three decades.

I confine myself to a single example. As editorial-page editor of the *Washington Star* in 1981, I wrote our lead editorial endorsing Israel's bombing strike on Iraq's nuclear facility—an act harshly condemned in the press and at the UN. (I am pleased to think that later developments tended to vindicate our judgment.) . . .

Just to be crystal clear on the main point: in my view, Israel enjoys strong support in virtually every sector of American opinion for exactly the right reasons—its redemption of a shattering crime against a people; its democratic traditions and creeds; its loyalty to Western interests; and the vision and civility of such leaders as David Ben-Gurion, Moshe Dayan, and Teddy Kollek. This support has been frayed a bit, in my judgment, by the exasperating policies of Mr. Shamir. But it cannot be accounted for on any theory of "manipulation" by lobbies—not even by AIPAC, though AIPAC enjoys extraordinary and perhaps excessive influence on Capitol Hill . . .

Anti-Semitism is a heavy term,

fraught with the darkest history. I am in agreement with Bill Buckley that we should not trivialize the word or the idea (as "racism" is today being trivialized) by brandishing it in every petty dispute.

13. A Letter from Murray Reswick

This letter is written in the hope that it will be directed to your attention. Hope bolstered by the fact that a letter requesting my release from Vichy France, once written by my nobody-special father to Marshal Pétain, was not only read but favorably acted upon.

I do not entertain the slightest hope of improving on today's Rosenthal column in the *New York Times*. But I do believe that my credentials in respect of the ability to distinguish a fun-loving iconoclast from an anti-Semite are unrivaled.

I am a highly recognizable Jew with the physiognomy of a Hittite camouflaging the mindset of an atheistic cosmopolite. Molière might have described me as a Juif Malgré Lui. I also happen to be a Médecin Malgré Lui but that is beside the point. Growing up in France, I swam, with no discernible discomfort, in a world replete with people harboring multiple hues of antagonism toward Jews. I've always known that you cannot shoe-horn all anti-Semites into one foul box. I also knew that many of my friends would mouth anti-Semitic utterances that they did not truly believe and that most such utterances were unfraught with any possibility of serious mischief. Having said all that, may I now tell you flat-out that Buchanan is an anti-Semite. Oh, a jovial one to be sure—but unmistakably a vicious one, whether or not you or he believes this to be the case. And to arrive at this diagnosis, the cumulative effect mentioned in your study need not be considered. There is only one of his statements that truly counts. It is the crack about the names of the boys slogging up the road to Baghdad. A purely factual observation, since there are so few black Jews in the armed forces of this country, but consider how potentially damaging had we suffered heavy casualties. At the risk of appearing immodest may I state that my own skirts are unsullied by this particular bit of mud-slinging, since I served in the armies of France and the United States of America, during WW II, without waiting to be drafted.

I fully understand and accept that, as the father of the conservative movement in this country, you carry responsibilities that by far outweigh any consideration of an objective and dismissive assessment of Buchanan's misdeeds, so that there are good and just reasons for you to dilute a feeble paragraph about his anti-Semitism in the midst of your exhaustive survey of the current dimensions of the problem in our country. Moreover the text as a whole was enlightening about things I did not know, such as the rejection of the neoconservatives by the original crew (country-club anti-Semitism?) and the finely reasoned Michael Kinsley condemnation of the Jewish bigotry regarding Christmas trees and crèches.

14. A Letter from Eliot A. Cohen

LET ME EXPRESS my admiration for the thoughtfulness with which you address this issue, and the courage you have shown in confronting it, now and in the past. Parts of this must have been very painful to write, dealing as they did with friends, allies, and even family. Indeed, I read the article not to find out your position—it is as well known as could be—so much as to see how you expressed it, and it was gracefully done.

You began your article by describing some of your personal experiences in this matter, and so should I. I have not been exposed to much in the way of anti-Semitism, really: some taunts and bullying when walking home from the Hebrew day school I attended; casual insults—most thoughtless—from a variety of persons some of whom did not realize they were speaking to a Jew; more recently, a guarded suspicion about my loyalties hinted at by government officials preoccupied, I suppose, by Jonathan Pollard. In my parents' generation it was different, of course, but anti-Semitism did not prevent them, or their immigrant fathers and mothers, from making their way, protected by a regime that, as Washington said to the Jewish community of Newport, "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

That is at one level. Yet at another level any religiously and historically conscious Jew lives with an awareness of anti-Semitism. Not just the Holocaust but all that preceded it: the rabbis teach the Biblical story of the Amalekites who attacked the stragglers of the Israelite camp in the desert as a prototypical and enduring story of malice. That kind of hatred is *not* ascribed to the non-Jewish world in general, but to that small part of it (which includes some of Jewish birth) which despises the Jewish faith and people. It is the kind of irrational loathing that manifests itself in such bizarre phenomena as "anti-Semitism without Jews," or such grisly deeds as the massacres of Jews in Poland in 1945—*after* the Germans had been driven out.

Curiously, perhaps, this view of anti-Semitism as an evil and rather mysterious disease disinclines me to probe the origins of anti-Semitic behavior in America. In what I have seen of Joe Sobran's, Pat Buchanan's, and Gore Vidal's writings on this subject, there is a tinge of this madness. Now in these cases it is not a violent kind of craziness, and their venom is not directed solely against me and my people, but sickness is how I think of it. I am only glad that their cases are mild and that the great majority of my fellow-citizens are inoculated against the disease.

Let me suggest two reasons why Jews are sometimes hypersensitive about anti-Semitism. One has to do with the historical character of Jewish religious practice, for Judaism leads its adherents to ponder their history long and hard, and not merely contemplate that past, but live in it. The destruction of two Temples; the massacres that marked the routes of march of the Crusaders to the Holy Land; the expulsions from Spain and other European countries; the pogroms which my grandparents' generation fled—these are all more vivid in the consciousness of many Jews than one might think. My point here is that it is not the Holocaust alone that makes American Jews, who have had such an extraordinarily easy time of it, touchy about anti-Semitism.

Consider further that for Jews who care about their Jewishness, survival is at stake, even in America. Anxiety about survival is only partly reflected in an intense reaction to anti-Semitism, and is often conflated with it—even by Jews. The survival of the Jews *is* at risk in the United States, not because of hostility but because of the very reverse—Jewish readiness to abandon our traditions and beliefs in an environment that has been uniquely welcoming. That this may be hard to appreciate was driven home to me in a conversation with a sophisticated non-Jewish friend who simply could not understand what it was to have a collective (not an individual) fear of extinction, be it through physical annihilation or assimilation.

There are Jews for whom anti-Semitism ends by defining their Jewishness. That this is unhealthy and sterile goes without saying—what Jewish child would want to live a Jewish life if the chief characteristic of such a life were the search for (and occasional discovery of) mortal enemies? The greater one's belief in the wealth and richness of Judaism, the less tragedy defines one's Jewishness. But to be a Jew is also to be aware that Jewish existence is tenuous.

A few words about Israel. The Jewish affinity for Israel *is* something deep and abiding. "If I forget thee O Jerusalem let my right hand forget its cunning," said the Psalmist, and the love of Zion is woven through our daily prayers. I will not rehearse for you the story of Israel's precarious geopolitical position, or the history of the attacks launched against it, or the way in which its enemies have not distinguished between Jews and Israelis in their deeds of terror. Nor will I expand on the peculiarly high standards that are often applied to Israeli conduct. But I will say that for better or worse Judaism, including all but the fringe elements of Orthodox Judaism (and Jews have their would-be Ayatollahs), is now tied up with the existence of a healthy state of Israel. Were it to perish I doubt that the Jews could survive as a faith or as a people. I say that knowing well the many problematic aspects of Jewish life in Israel, and its depressing divide between obstinate varieties of religious fanaticism and secular emptiness. And I say that believing as well that the Jewish experience in the United States is blessedly unique; in this country, unlike any other save Israel, full citizenship was not the grudging gift of a ruling class but a birthright.

What I suppose all this means is that your analysis, which was sensitive and careful, *did not fully capture* some elements of anti-Semitism as felt by a Jew, or by Jews. It would have been quite extraordinary if it had, because it would require more empathy than anyone could expect. But I thought that I might try to convey, in words that I see are inadequate, some of those thoughts and emotions.

One concluding word, along lines already alluded to above. It bothers me deeply that so much attention is devoted to anti-Semitism that the beauties and richness of Judaism are not even mentioned. I hope that we might help rectify that, in some small way, with an open invitation. If you are ever in Washington on a Friday night and can bear the presence of four lively small children, Judy and I would be honored if you and your wife would come to our house for dinner as we welcome the Sabbath. Judaism is not a proselytizing religion, as you know; we would merely like you to see some of its traditions and warmth—and, if you wish, to continue this conversation.

15. An Essay by Manfred Weidhorn

MR. BUCKLEY'S painstaking survey of the state of anti- and anti-anti-Semitism is marked not only by candor (e.g., about his father) but by a scrupulousness that is rare. Right- and left-wing ideologues—that is, most of us—are more concerned with saving the system (or saving face) than with finding the truth. In his assay at extirpating any traces of anti-Semitism among reputable conservatives instead of scoring easy points off the anti-Semitism on the Left, he has not only shown courage but also carried out the function of criticism as Matthew Arnold saw it. For Arnold's ideal critic the solecisms and hypocrisies of one's enemies are obvious and expectable, but the defects in one's own camp are too easily ignored or excused. A true patriot wants to clean up his own nest before setting out to enlighten the rest of the world.

Since one good turn deserves another, here, in the spirit of the ecumenism and good-faith dialogue which Mr. Buckley has conjured up, is an attempt at similar candor by a Jew.

CHRISTIANITY bears a heavy responsibility for the prevalence of anti-Semitism, but not an exclusive one. Anti-Semitism existed before Christianity (Apion, Tacitus, Juvenal) and exists today outside it (in certain circles in Japan and in parts of the Moslem world). The ubiquity of this moral plague can be smugly written off by Jews as the jealousy all peoples have of the one people doing things right. Or it can make conscientious Jews ask themselves whether they are not doing something wrong. All that smoke, and no fire?

Jews are not, in fact, entirely blameless. The concept of the "chosen people" has played a mischievous role in history. Rabbis are always quick to explain that chosenness bears no relation to notions of Aryan supremacy, racial superiority, American exceptionalism, or any of the garden-variety chauvinisms that exist in Japan, France, Russia. Chosenness, they insist, means rather for Jews an extra set of moral obligations: Gentiles only have to observe a few Noahide principles, but Jews are saddled with no fewer than 613 commandments, the majority of them, to boot, beginning with the unfortunate "Thou shalt not." Jews accordingly are not in any sense superior but more burdened.

Modern psychologists and novelists

have, however, noted how a burden of this sort has an insidious way of turning into an unacknowledged sense of superiority. "I am more constrained morally than you," some inner voice says, "because I am more worthy of such a mission than you are. Besides, an all-just God would not inflict sacrifices on one set of persons throughout history without rendering some sort of compensation elsewhere or later." Pay now, enjoy later. Expecting such a possible future reward may be seen as a sort of pulling rank.

BEING burdened or victimized, moreover, begets its own form of hybris, or at least of clannishness. Joseph Sobran's remarks on the invidious distinction in expressions like "goyish kopp" ("gentile head," i.e., dumb) touch on such tribalism. The tribal reasoning goes something like this: We are morally and ritually far more burdened than you; therefore we are purified by self-sacrifice and heavenward gazes; therefore we are wiser—and probably nobler—than the spiritually virginal, the naïve and untested, gentiles.

Jews may not speak or even think (consciously, at any rate) in this fashion, but *some* Jews certainly betray such logic by their actions. A joke: A monk lies on his deathbed. His colleagues are seated at a nearby table writing his eulogy. After arduous work, they lean back, saying; "Let's see, we mentioned his charitableness, self-sacrifice, piety, etc. Did we leave anything out?" The dying monk sits up and exclaims: "Don't forget my humility."

In any case, the official rabbinic interpretation of chosenness is not the one that most gentiles, or even many non-Orthodox Jews, are familiar with. To the world at large, the phrase "the chosen people" implies a special status. One can, of course, be "chosen" for extermination, but in everyday parlance, "chosen" connotes "favored," "elect," "privileged." Jealousy—and its attendants, resentment and hate—cannot be far behind. Most people have but to recall the annoyance they felt in elementary school with the classmate who was the "teacher's pet." Whether one buys the rabbinic or the normative understanding of chosenness, the Jews are "God's pet." No favors from those left out need be expected. Nor should one forget that the teacher's pet is likewise a burdened soul; he receives a larger proportion of questions from a teacher confident that one student at least will give the correct answer. Being burdened and being favored are, clearly, not opposites.

Whatever the meaning of chosenness may be, the content of the laws placed on Jewish shoulders is an invitation to trouble. The mandate to be exclusive—the dread of intermarriage, the tradition of looking and acting differently, the fear of contamination by gentiles (see Shylock), the apparent reluctance to participate in that most civil of ceremonies, breaking bread with outsiders, because the food may have non-Kosher elements in it—generates an aura of unintelligibility and haughtiness about Jews and their ways. That which people cannot fathom, they begin to think the worst of. And if religious Jews are raised not to socialize with non-Jews, how can they avoid beginning to feel at some preconscious level that non-Jews are leprous or contaminating? And how can such dis-ease not get itself communicated to the non-Jews.

Bonnie Gardner

ELIOT A. COHEN

Then there is an irony. The exclusiveness may well be a necessity for group cohesiveness and survival. It also, however, generates aggression in others, and this hostility (as Sartre et al. have noted) in turn is, curiously, beneficial for group cohesiveness and survival. Full-time, professional, chauvinist Jews exist who, in their heart of hearts, cannot regard anti-Semitism (at least in its milder, genteel form) with complete disfavor.

If this sounds too contorted, blasphemous, or paradoxical a thought, consider the United States. As nations go, it has been by far the most receptive, tolerant, and rewarding nation that Jews have come in contact with during their long and often bitter trek through the regions of the Diaspora. And what has been the result? Gratitude, immense and heartfelt, from most Jews but also jeremiads from the rabbis and chauvinist Jews about, of all things, a holocaust, a spiritual holocaust! The dropping of all barriers has meant rampant assimilation, intermarriage, secularism, homogenization—and the ultimate peaceful, quiescent demise of the Jewish people in America. (Read, for example, Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, and he is but a moderate on this.) Truly, anti-Semitism is a subject that grows more complex every time one looks at it.

The hostility directed at Jews throughout history has, moreover, an ambiguous basis. The Hebrew scripture portrays God as ordering the Israelites to do things His way or He will wipe the floor with them. Doing things His way involves, as we saw, a lot of activity that makes Jews different and bizarre. Now comes a bifurcation. If one is a believing Jew or Christian, God would appear to have followed through on his threat; the Jews did not observe the Law too well, and they have accordingly been punished. This is a classic instance of fulfillment of Biblical prophecy. Jewish suffering at the hands of others is divinely ordained.

If, on the other hand, one is not a believer, one is left with a psychological reading of events: The Israelites dream up a God who favors them but who in return seems to place burdens on them and who, they imagine, wants them to be different from all other people. This difference arouses anti-Semitism among all those "other people," who see in the Israelites only self-delusion and arrogance. The result is a classic case of self-fulfilling prophecy rather than actual prophecy. The Jews are seen to have brought their troubles on themselves by fabricating a very peculiar God. (As a bard says, "How odd / Of God / To choose / The Jews.") The conclusion to all this is, "You pays yer money, and you takes yer choice": Either God's ways are very mysterious, or Jews are peculiarly self-destructive.

Fairness requires, however, the concession that exclusiveness is neither intrinsically evil—it has enabled Jews to survive for millennia—nor specifically Jewish. The Japanese are known for their xenophobia. If the ultra-Orthodox Jews ban TV from their homes for fear of secularization, do not the Amish the same? (And is it such a bad idea?) If the ultras have their own schools and textbooks, do not many Catholics? If the ultras try to sequester themselves from the gentile and even secular Jewish world as much as possible, do not certain Catholic religious orders? If intermarriage is a nightmare in traditional Jewish homes, is it any the less so in traditional Catholic ones? Is even "chosenness" unknown to Catholics and Mormons, to Calvinists and other Christians assured of their salvation? If some benighted Jews actually believe that Jews can do no wrong and gentiles can do no right, has one never run across an American who generalizes similarly about his compatriots as against all those others out there?

MR. BUCKLEY'S observations on knee-jerk anti-anti-Semitism have nothing to do with the concept of "the Chosen People" and little to do with the existence of Israel and the problem of double loyalties. The phenomenon discussed has much more to do with one of the oldest and most ubiquitous impulses, "Kill the messenger."

When faced with a criticism of some policy or action of the Israelis—let us say, alleged torture of Arab detainees —a rational, conscientious Jew would find out whether the charge has merit. If it does and if no convincing justifications are given, he would shoot off an angry letter to those in charge. Such an inquest, however, is time-consuming and extremely taxing. What is worse, if the charge is valid, it calls into question Israel's "most favored nation" status and gives ammunition to Israel's enemies, who can be relied on to exploit it in every unfair manner possible.

How much simpler is it to dismiss the charge by calling the originator of it an "anti-Semite" and resuming one's dogmatic slumber. If the originator of the charge happens to be a Jew and therefore cannot be called an anti-Semite, not to worry! He is, of course, a "self-hating Jew."

A joke: A Jewish boy applies for a job as a radio announcer. He returns home with the news that he did not get the job. "Why not?" inquires his mother. The boy replies: "A-A-Ant-t-ti-sem-m-m-it-t-t-ism-m-m!" Patriotism, we are often and usefully reminded, is the last refuge of a scoundrel. The flag of one's country or the prayer shawl is a handy way of covering one's personal nakedness and shortcomings.

Make no mistake about it, there are real anti-Semites and self-hating Jews out there. Labeling someone in that way just because he raises unanswerable questions is, however, neither good logic nor fine manners. One's first task is to address the charge and either enlighten the interlocutor or revise one's thinking.

Everyone is wedded to the ideology of his choosing or upbringing. When a theory collides with a fact, the iron law of psychology is that the theory will invariably win out. The theory digests and incorporates the fact, as in the case of the leftist who asserted that proof of Trotsky's prophetic insight is that none of his predictions has yet come true.

After Don Quixote's gimcrack armor fell apart in the first testing of it, he rebuilt it and then wisely refrained from repeating the test. Not only that, he even went so far as to call it the best armor that ever was. So do we all operate with our cherished ideologies. How many individuals, Jew or gentile, resist the temptation to take this easy way out when confronted with an embarrassment? "He's a commie!" or "He's a kook!" Mr. Buckley himself has had the honor of being called everything from "fascist" to (just recently) "scary." Killing the messenger is, in short, not a Jewish or neoconservative problem, but a human one. In this case, as in so many other matters, Bernard Malamud's aphorism (adapted actually from Montaigne), "Jews are like other people, only more so," is apposite. In two senses: Jews carry normal forms of behavior to a higher or more intense pitch than do gentiles; and whatever Jews do people will take more notice of than if other ethnics do it.

In line with Malamud's Law, Jews are, like the stuttering would-be announcer, sometimes indeed guilty of over-reliance on the ad-hominem argument. Any sensitive Jew who, on the basis of making a legitimate criticism of black leadership or behavior, is irritated at being called a racist should have some understanding of the annoyance gentiles must feel when labeled "anti-Semitic" as a result of making an objective observation on Jewish affairs. Having been deeply seared by the Holocaust, Jews are understandably on the lookout for signs of any resurgence of evil. But overkill sometimes takes place and is counterproductive. Pat Buchanan, for example, has certainly ventured into a grey area on a number of occasions, but are not A. M. Rosenthal and company perhaps a trifle trigger happy?

RECALL THE Abe Fortas case in 1967. His nomination for the Chief Justiceship resulted in a Bork-like imbroglio. There were widespread whispers and rumors of anti-Semitism. What held up his nomination, however, was that, at first, conservatives were leery of his liberalism and, later, that he was found to have an unacknowledged conflict of interest.

Anti-Semitism turned out to have been nonexistent. Recall also the groundless fears that Jewish leaders had over the nomination of George Shultz as Secretary of State because of his ties to Bechtel and its ties to the Arab world.

The moral is, when there are other legitimate explanations for a man's behavior or statements, anti-Semitism should be a charge of last, not first, resort. When you have a bona-fide anti-Semite like David Duke on your hands, why add to your problems? The corollary to this rule is that, if you call good-intentioned critics "anti-Semites" frequently enough, they may begin to lose some of their good intentions and you may become a self-fulfilling prophet. Hitler has given anti-Semitism a bad name (hence Mr. Buckley Sr.'s table talk would be out of place in polite company today), but some Jews may be inadvertently allowing it elbow room by mishandling the problem. Recent whispers that President Bush, simply because of legitimate policy differences with the egregious Prime Minister Shamir, is "anti-Semitic" are a definitive instance of disgraceful, whining, self-pitying behavior.

Nor are some Jews, like some or

many gentiles, strangers to the use of a double standard, though whether they do so cunningly or unwittingly is best left to the charitableness of the observer. During the Yom Kippur War, Jews were quick to criticize Western Europe and Japan for their reluctance to help Israel (or the U.S.) in any way. Considering that nearly all the oil in those countries came from Arab lands and that a possible retaliatory cut-off of oil would have quickly resulted in paralysis, one cannot so easily blame those advanced industrialized societies, in which oil is the lifeblood, for putting self-interest above principle (if indeed any principle was at stake here for them). Yet one hears little from these principled Jewish critics about Israel's cooperating with South Africa when that nation was a moral outcast; or her building, by hook and crook, nuclear weapons; or her role in human-rights violations.

WHEN NOT guilty of a double standard, some Jews lapse into something similar—moral deafness or narcissism. Religious Jews who base their claim to the Holy Land (notwithstanding the Palestinians already there) on God's giving it to the Israelites reveal a touching naiveté. They seem not to realize that, in the modern world, many people do not believe in the Bible as a sacred text; that even those who accept the Bible as divine do not interpret it in an Orthodox or even Judaic fashion; that even those who do so are not prepared to settle modern boundary disputes by means of religious documents, at least not until the coming of the Messiah or the Second Coming of Christ.

Jews need also to remember that discrimination and subtlety are required where polemics usually dominate. When apprised of Israeli delinquencies, the hard-liners have three stock responses. 1) The charges come from Arab or UN sources and are therefore highly suspect. 2) Why don't you discuss the far greater offenses of the Arabs? 3) The charges may well be true but you have to look at the whole picture and take into account the extreme position Israel is in; in its quest for survival, Israel may need to break a few eggs.

As to the first response, the matter is akin to the problem raised by the supermarket gossip sheets: The stories there appear in sources that are suspect, but they do sometimes turn out to be true (even if certain editorial boards used to have difficulty deciding whether they were "fit to print"). The second response is often correct but ambiguous. A Jew killing an Arab does get far greater coverage than Syrian soldiers massacring thousands of their fellow citizens. That may indeed be due to pure, old-fashioned anti-Semitism. Or it may be a compliment: From Syrians, one expects swinishness, but from Israelis one expects civilized behavior. (Is this expectation, by the way, anti-Syrianism? anti-Arabism?) Or it may be due to the marketplace law that violence between ethnic or national groups sells better than violence within a group.

Bonnie Gardner

MANFRED WEIDHORN

But the third response is the trickiest. If Israel's plight is to be looked at in context and if self-preservation is the shibboleth, have not the Palestinians the right to the same considerations? If mistreatment of detainees and bombing of Palestinian camps with only pro forma concern about civilian casualties is justified by reasons of state, so are terrorist attacks by the PLO. Two can play the same game. After all, the Palestinians have their own Diaspora, their own pogroms (Shatila, Kuwait), and their own Zionism. Before Mr. Podhoretz rushes in to complain about that relic from the cold war, "moral equivalency," he should recall the findings of a British commission (chaired by a prominent Jew) in the 1930s that the contest in Palestine was not between right and wrong but between two rights. That, at any rate, is how the world still sees it, like it or not.

It is an old rule of human behavior that where my enemy's actions are concerned, "the end *never* justifies the means," but when it comes to my actions, well, the law of self-preservation—and only I can interpret the law as it applies to me—supersedes all other principles and rules.

Hence it is that, for Rosenthal and Podhoretz, Jews like Begin and Shamir used to be freedom-fighters, but Arafat is a terrorist; that Jews from Milwaukee and Odessa and Ethiopia have a special claim to the Holy Land, but native Palestinians (faceless Arabs, to too many Jews) can go live in Jordan, Kuwait, or Yemen. Needless to say, Jews have no monopoly on this doublespeak. The statements of Arabs and their sympathizers are rife with a sort of nonsense that is a mirror image of the Jewish one. But the Jewish behavior is under discussion now, and one is not required to accept gobbledygook from one party to a dispute just because the other party is equally delinquent and irresponsible.

The Rosenthal–Podhoretz faction also is a little too complacent on the role of Jews in recent history. Hitler's venom was directed at all sorts of people. Jews were his earliest and most afflicted victims. That makes it seem as if Jews should get credit for manning the barricades for, and before, the rest of mankind; as if, in short, Jews were premature anti-Nazis. In actuality, however, things were not so simple. Jews did not see Hitler for what he was before others did; they were singled out by him and given no choice in the matter.

LET US test that out with a mental experiment. Imagine a different world, one in which Hitler is everything that he was except for a small detail. He is not anti-Semitic; he thinks as little about Jews one way or the other as about Eskimos or Mormons. What would have happened then? Would Jews have joined the underground, hidden people (Gypsies, Slavs, socialists, dissenting clerics) in the attics, and martyred themselves in great numbers? Probably not. A few saintly (and highly employable) souls like Einstein would have emigrated on principle. Some would have gone into internal exile and avoided cooperation with the state. But many, with jobs and families to worry about, would, like their Catholic and Protestant and agnostic/atheist counterparts, have kept a low profile and done their patriotic duty as good Germans in the war against all those oppressive European peoples. Not manned the extermination camps perhaps, but not done much to stop them either if it involved personal risk. The easy sneer at "good Germans" is inappropriate when coming from those who have not been similarly tested.

Any illusions harbored by the hardline faction about Jews being immunized against the Nazi virus or being quintessential anti-Nazis have surely been destroyed by recent events: to wit, the flirtation with quasi-Nazi ideas—*Araber raus!*—by the late Meir Kahane (a rabbi, be it noted, a man of God) or by Rabbi Moshe Levenger, by the far-right religious and nationalist sects in Israel, and by the aggressive Jewish-American settlers on the West Bank. No, Zionism is not racism, but, yes, some Zionists definitely are racists.

And why should there not be some racist Zionists? Jews are not saints, not exempt from the laws of psychology and sociology. When impoverished and disfranchised, Jews drifted to liberalism and socialism; when affluent, they think more along conservative lines. The agonizing over whether group characteristics are essential or accidental can be disposed of rather peremptorily. People possessing a linguistic, religious, and cultural tradition are certainly going to have a set of vices and virtues in common. As long as two conditions are met, nothing is wrong with observing that the Scots are thrifty, the Irish dreamy, the Jews studious and money-conscious, the Hispanics laid back, the New Englanders laconic and puritanical.

One condition is that it is understood to be not a genetic but an environmental matter. Look at Jews and the martial virtues. The Biblical Israelites fought a lot of wars, and, during Roman times, the Jews were seen as a fractious, bellicose crowd, ever ready to rebel and to martyr themselves. Then, during the two millennia of the Diaspora, the Jews became passive. As a minority in alien cultures, they had to learn to survive by meekness, bribery, passivity, by being, as Joyce's Bloom is said to be, the only true cheek-turning Christian in a lapsed, or frequently lapsing, Christian society. Hence the well known group characteristic was that "Jews don't fight."

Then came the Holocaust and the consequent resolve of "Never again!" An Israel surrounded by Arab states has produced one of the best armies in the world. In reverting to the style of their ancestors in Biblical and Roman times, Jews—some would even complain—fight too much and too well. At any rate, the arrogance and pugnacity of the aptly named sabra ("cactus"—i.e., native Israeli) is no more a matter of Jewish genes than was the putative physical cowardice in the Diaspora.

THE SECOND caveat on the use of group characteristics is that they not be applied mechanically and that each individual must be judged on his/her own. Using group traits is a sort of early science, a lazy man's attempt to make sense of the multiplicity of facts. But always the individual comes first. Juliet had been raised to believe that Montagues are evil. Meeting an attractive but nameless young man, she fell in love with him. She not knowing him to be a Montague, her vision was not distorted by group traits, and she judged him as an individual. Hence her acknowledgment—"Too early seen unknown and known too late"—that experience takes precedence over theory and that with regard to one Montague, at least, group traits are nugatory.

So much at least needs to be said about Jewish culpability in the generation of anti-Semitism. Jews whose toes have been stepped on in the course of this essay will of course dismiss the whole thing as the rantings of a self-hating Jew telling tales out of school to the goyim. Not so; the goal has been Mr. Buckley's, i.e., to rise above partisanship in order to get at the truth. One must therefore add, loudly and clearly, that we have been speaking throughout of the behavior of *some* Jews *some* of the time, behavior which brings opprobrium on all Jews. "Jews are like other people, only more so." *Pace* Mr. Sobran, most Jews do not use expressions like "goyish kopp" or think that way; *pace* Mr. Buchanan, most Jews do not think along the lines of the Rosenthal–Podhoretz polemics. The case is similar to that of American tourists abroad yesterday and Japanese tourists today, who were and are known to speak loudly, flash money, and stay among themselves rather than mix with the natives. These are the traits of certain types, such as some members of the *nouveau riche* class, rather than of the nationalities; most Americans and Japanese never even go abroad.

Once the Jews confront and confess their own role in anti-Semitism, they are morally freed to look elsewhere. The lion's share of the blame can be attributed not to Christ but (in line with the distinctions made by Kierkegaard and by Nietzsche) to Christianity and, above all, to Christendom. And that is a long story which the Second Vatican Council, Mr. Buckley, and other conscientious Christians have started to face up to at long last after nearly two millennia of silence or complicity by Church and flock in the face of the most obscene and profoundly un-Christian behavior by people worshipping the putative Prince of Peace and Love, who happened to be a Jew.

The Political Scene

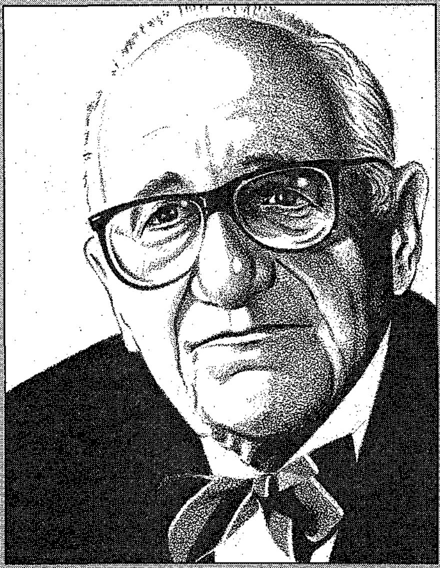
16. From a Speech by Murray Rothbard

Following are excerpts, though the ellipses have been omitted, from a very long (ninety-minute) speech by Murray Rothbard, Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada, given to the John Randolph Club, of which he is the president, at its second annual meeting, held in January.

The excerpts raise several relevant questions. The long essay on anti-Semitism is interpreted as a political act designed to discredit Pat Buchanan, the new hero of what, for the lack of anything more precise, one may as well call the John Randolph Right. A second point of interest is Mr. Rothbard's opinion that the American Right can be equally hospitable to anyone who ever had any misgivings about Franklin Delano Roosevelt. (Lenin *branded such political indiscrimination as "opportunist"—i.e., the sin of opening Communist Party doors to virtually everyone: the counterpart of the sin of "sectarianism," the practice of denying admission to any but true believers, which practice he held to be too exclusivist.) If it were so, then of course* NATIONAL REVIEW *has been wrong over the years in seeking to make such distinctions as were thought necessary to attempt to correct those, e.g., who disdained the political or philosophical company of anyone who believed in God (Ayn Rand); who believed that the beginning of political wisdom was to recognize that Dwight Eisenhower was an agent of the Communist Party (the John Birch Society); or who believed that the Protocols of the Elders of Zion are the ruling surreptitious document within the Jewish community (Allan Zoll). But the enthusiasm here expressed by Mr. Rothbard for Pat Buchanan is not likely to be reciprocated. Mr. Buchanan isn't going to wage his campaign for the Presidency by denouncing Social Security.** —WFB

And this, only the *second* annual meeting of the John Randolph Club, celebrates the fact that we have suddenly vaulted from the periphery to a central role in the American Right. The occasion of this dramatic change, of course, has been the entry into the presidential race of our esteemed Randolph Club member, Patrick J. Buchanan. . . .

What has happened is that what I call the Old Right is suddenly back! The terms old and new inevitably get confusing, with a new "new" every few years, so let's call it the *Original* Right, the Right wing as it existed from 1933 to approximately 1955. This Old Right was formed in reaction against the New Deal, and against the Great Leap Forward into the leviathan state that was the essence of that New Deal.


Anthony Martin

MURRAY ROTHBARD

If we know what the Old Right was against, what were they *for*? How far would you roll government back? The *minimum* demand which almost all Old Rightists agreed on, which virtually defined the Old Right, was total abolition of the New Deal, the whole kit and kaboodle of the Welfare State, the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act, going off gold in 1933, and all the rest. Beyond that, there were charming disagreements. Some would stop at repealing the New Deal. Others would press on, to abolition of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, including the Federal Reserve System and especially that mighty instrument of tyranny, the income tax and the Internal Revenue Service. Still others, extremists such as myself, would not stop until we repealed the Federal Judiciary Act of 1789, and maybe even think the unthinkable and restore the good old Articles of Confederation.

The proper course for the Right-wing opposition must necessarily be a

---

*The personal hostility of Murray Rothbard (it is manifest) traces to a seminar I conducted at Yale in 1962 at which I ventured to opine, referring to an essay by Mr. Rothbard then making the rounds, that the conservative movement could not make out a very persuasive case for privatizing lighthouses. Lighthouses, I said, are primarily useful in circumstances that make it difficult for the sailor to drop his dollar bill into the lighthouse keeper's basket. Mr. Rothbard was greatly offended by this heresy, and cut all ties to NATIONAL REVIEW.

A Current Survey on Anti-Semitism in America (from the Atlanta Constitution, *January 11)*

While anti-Semitism continues to decline in the United States, contradictions in the way people perceive Jews make it difficult to come up with a clear picture of prejudice that remains, according to a new report issued by the American Jewish Committee, a group that monitors bigotry in the United States.

An analysis of recent surveys of perceptions of Jews in America found that the same person may have both negative and positive attitudes toward Jews. Thus, the finding that a person exhibits anti-Semitism in one category, such as viewing Jews as "money-grubbing" or having too much influence, doesn't necessarily predict that the person will have other anti-Semitic attitudes.

. . . On the one hand, they [the studies] show anti-Semitism at "historic lows," with 86 per cent of Americans surveyed saying they hold "warm feelings" toward Jews, said the report's author, Tom W. Smith of the University of Chicago National Opinion Research Center.

On the other hand, Mr. Smith said, responses to some questions involving the wealth, intelligence, and perceived political influence of Jews, as well as feelings toward Jews expressed by blacks and those who are younger and less educated, show those warm feelings could quickly give way to anti-Semitism.

"There is some concern that the documented decline may be only superficial and that, rather than being eradicated, anti-Semitism has only become dormant, retaining its full horrific potential," he said.

. . . Americans rate Jews higher than whites in general and all other ethnic groups when it comes to wealth, self-reliance, peacefulness, and willingness to work hard, but perceive them as less patriotic than Southern whites and whites in general. But, Mr. Smith said, respondents who view Jews as more intelligent, self-reliant, industrious, and wealthier also tend to believe they exercise too much influence in American life and politics. . . .

Mr. Smith said changes in the Middle East could change the perception of Jews by other Americans. "A growth in opposition to treatment of the Palestinians and/or a pro-Arab tilt as a result of Arab control of oil resources would worsen American attitudes toward American Jews, especially if they were seen as favoring Israel over American interests."

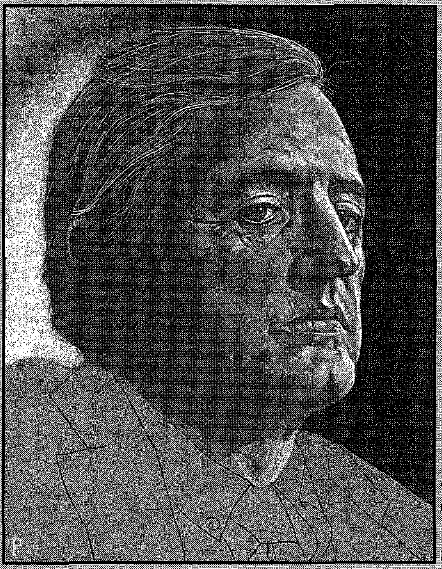
strategy of boldness and confrontation, of dynamism and excitement, a strategy, in short, of rousing the masses from their slumber and exposing the arrogant elites that are ruling them, controlling them, taxing them, and ripping them. We need a dynamic, charismatic leader who has the ability to short-circuit the media elites, and to reach and rouse the masses directly. We need a leadership that can reach the masses and cut through the crippling and distorting hermeneutical fog spread by the media elites. We need, in short, the leadership of Patrick J. Buchanan.

But can we call such a strategy "conservative"? I, for one, am tired of the liberal strategy, on which they rung the changes for forty years, of presuming to define "conservatism" as a supposed aid to the conservative movement. Whenever liberals have encountered hard-edged abolitionists who, for example, want to repeal the New Deal or Fair Deal, they say "but that's not *genuine* conservatism. That's *radicalism*." The *genuine* conservative, these liberals go on to say, doesn't want to repeal or abolish anything. He is a kind and gentle soul who wants to *conserve* what left-liberals have accomplished.

I must admit that, in one sense, the liberals have had a point. The word "conservative" is unsatisfactory. The original Right never used the term "conservative": we called ourselves individualists, or "true liberals," or Rightists. We want to uproot the status quo, not conserve it. The original Right, the radical Right, had pretty much disappeared by 1963. But now, all of a sudden, with the entry of Pat Buchanan into the presidential race, my God, they're back! The radical Right is back, all over the place, feistier than ever and getting stronger!

What happened to the original Right, anyway? And how did the conservative movement get into its present mess? Why does it need to be sundered, and split apart, and a new radical Right movement created upon its ashes?

The answer to both of these seemingly disparate questions is the same: what happened to the original Right, and the cause of the present mess, is the advent and domination of the right wing by Bill Buckley and NATIONAL REVIEW. By the mid 1950s, much of the leadership of the Old Right was dead or in retirement. Senator Taft and Colonel McCormick had died, and many of the right-wing congressmen had retired. The conservative masses, for a long time short on intellectual leadership, was now lacking in political leadership as well. An intellectual and power vacuum had developed on the right, and rushing to fill it, in 1955, were Bill Buckley, fresh from several years [nine months—Ed.] in the CIA, and NATIONAL REVIEW, an intelligent, well-written periodical staffed with ex-Communists and ex-leftists eager to transform the Right from an isolationist movement into a crusade to crush the Soviet God that had failed them.



Chang Park

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Very quickly, NATIONAL REVIEW became the dominant, if not the *only*, power center on the right wing. This power was reinforced by a brilliantly successful strategy (perhaps guided by *NR* editors trained in Marxist cadre tactics) of creating a battery of front groups: ISI for college intellectuals, Young Americans for Freedom for campus activists; moreover, led by veteran Republican politico and *NR* Publisher Bill Rusher, the NATIONAL REVIEW complex was able to take over, in swift succession, the College Young Republicans, then the National Young Republicans, and finally to create a Goldwater movement in 1960 and beyond.

And so, with almost Blitzkrieg swiftness, by the early 1960s, the new global crusading conservative movement, created and headed by Bill Buckley, was almost ready to take power in America. But not quite, because first, all the various heretics of the Right, some left over the original Right, all the groups that were in any way radical or could deprive the new conservative movement of its much desired *respectability* in the eyes of the liberal and centrist elite, all these had to be jettisoned. Only such a denatured, respectable, non-radical, *conserving* Right was worthy of power.

And so the purges began. One after another, Buckley and NATIONAL REVIEW purged and excommunicated all the radicals, all the non-respectables. Consider the roll call: isolationists (such as John T. Flynn), anti-Zionists, libertarians, Ayn Randians, the John Birch Society, and all those who continued, like the early NATIONAL REVIEW, to dare to oppose Martin Luther King and the civil-rights revolution.

So that's how the dice have been loaded in our current political game. And virtually the only genuine Rightist spokesman who has managed to escape neocon anathema has been Pat Buchanan.

It was time. It was time to trot out the old master, the prince of excommunication, the self-anointed pope of the conservative movement, William F. Buckley Jr. It was time for Bill to go into his old act, to save the movement that he had made over into his own image. It was time for the man hailed by neocon Eric Breindel as the "authoritative voice on the American Right." It was time for Bill Buckley's papal bull, his 40,000-word Christmas encyclical to the conservative movement, "In Search of Anti-Semitism," the screed solemnly invoked in the anti-Buchanan editorial of the *New York Times*.

The first thing to say about Buckley's essay is that it is virtually unreadable. Gone, all gone is the wit and the sparkle. Buckley's tendency to the rococo has elongated beyond measure. His prose is serpentine, involuted, and convoluted, twisted and qualified, until virtually all sense is lost. Reading the whole thing through is doing penance for one's sins, and one can accomplish the task only if possessed by a stern sense of duty, as one grits one's teeth and plows through a pile of student term papers—which, indeed, Buckley's essay matches in content, in learning, and in style.

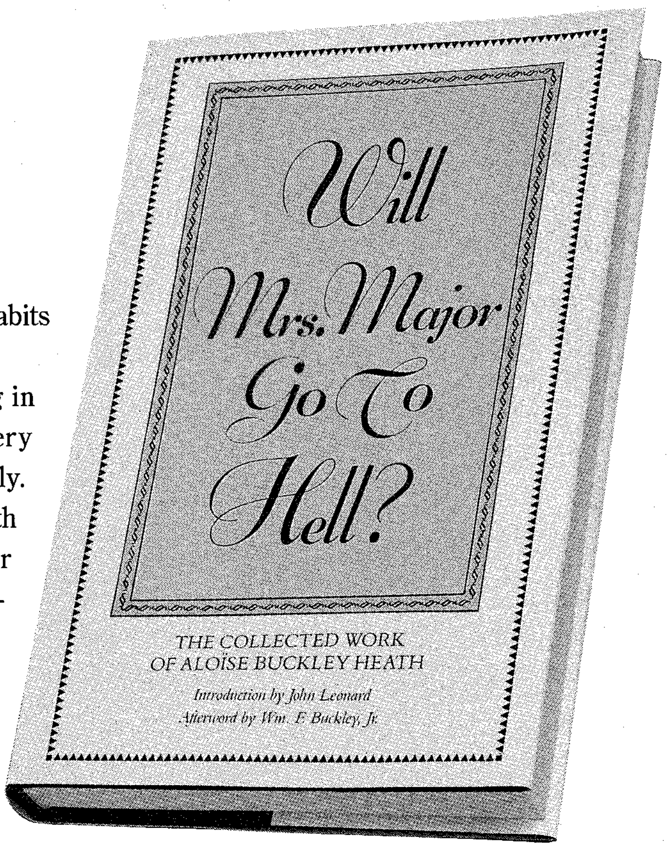
You won't find this book in your local bookstore...

...but you can get the brand-new updated edition of Aloïse Buckley Heath's **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** directly from *National Review* for just $16.95.

> Here is what the "Book-of-the-Month Club News" said about **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** when it was first published:
>
> "It may be the warmest, funniest book about suburban family life since *Please Don't Eat the Daisies,* and it suggests that a true talent was lost when Mrs. Heath died at the untimely age of 48. She was one of ten children and had ten of her own, which helps explain why she was busy. The picture she gives of the way her family lived is both touching and hilarious, and she also casts a wry glance at the social scene in such pieces as one entitled 'Ladies Month in the Slicks,' wherein she notes, regarding the suggestion that harried housewives be given a paid-up charm course for Christmas. 'This gift had better be limited to harried housewives you know very well indeed.'"

...and we honestly can't remember when we've seen a more tender, poignant collection of stories. The late Aloïse Buckley Heath (William F. Buckley Jr.'s sister) wrote some absolutely priceless things about her own family, and the early days of *National Review,* plus some marvelously funny satirical observations on our contemporary habits and institutions.

There is something in this book to please every member of your family. You'll meet all the Heath children and encounter with them such American institutions as the New Math and the episode of the riotous carpool.


Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?
THE COLLECTED WORK
OF ALOÏSE BUCKLEY HEATH
Introduction by John Leonard
Afterword by Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

Don't miss her wonderfully entertaining views on soap operas or her recollections as an inadvertent fund-raiser (successful and highly unorthodox) for Smith College. Her Christmas stories are authentic classics, especially the Heaths' version of a Trapp Family Christmas.

And don't miss her "Baby in the Bathroom," "A Letter for Maureen" or "Politics and Mortal Sin." **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** captures perfectly Mrs. Heath's own vibrant spirit ... the book is an absolute classic of tenderness and humanity.

If you don't get another book this year, you'll be glad you got this one. You will find yourself enjoying it again and again, each time finding something new to delight you.

To order your copy all you need do is fill out the handy coupon and mail it back to us today — you'll be glad you did.

☐ Yes, please send me my own copy of **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** at the special NR price of just $16.95. I also enclose $2.00 to cover postage and handling. Please mail to:

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

City ____________________

State __________ Zip __________

31692

(Canadian and all other foreign orders, please add $4.00, U.S. currency for shipping and handling.)

Mail your order to:

National Review
Attn: Mrs. Major Book
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

NATIONAL REVIEW is no longer the monopoly power center on the Right. There are new people, young people, popping up all over the place, Pat Buchanan for one, all the paleos for another, who frankly don't give a fig for Buckley's papal pronunciamento. The original Right, and all its heresies is back! In fact, Bill Buckley is the Mikhail Gorbachev of the conservative movement. Like Gorbachev, Bill goes on with his old act, but like Gorbachev, nobody trembles any more, nobody bends the knee and goes into exile. *Nobody cares any more*; nobody, except the good old *New York Times.* Bill Buckley should have accepted his banquet and stayed retired. His comeback is going to be as successful as Muhammad Ali's.

For Pat Buchanan's race for the Presidency has changed the face of the right wing. It's now a brand new ball game. By his very entry, Pat Buchanan has changed and redefined the entire nature of the conservative movement. He has created a new radical, or Hard Right, very much like the original Right before NATIONAL REVIEW. For all their wealth, media influence, and seeming power, it is now the official conservatives and the neoconservatives who are on the periphery. The right wing shall hence forth only be defined in relation to the Buchananite movement. That movement, neither kind nor gentle, now sets the agenda, and sets the terms of the debate.

17. A Letter from John Kiley

It tracks like some implacable heat-guided missile to its important target. Beautifully argued and written.

18. A Letter from Christopher Ricks

Congratulations on the patience, exactitude, and justice of your substantial and substantiated essay on anti-Semitism. It had, if I may say so, all your characteristic virtues, and (I betray my injustice?) some virtues that I'd not thought *characteristic* of you, though I'd not supposed them alien to you. We have a common friend . . . I'm in his debt for letting me be in yours.

19. From a Column By Joseph Sobran

The conservative reaction to the piece is overwhelmingly negative. "Why did Bill write it?" and "What does he think he's accomplishing?" are the questions one keeps hearing, along with the adjectives "turgid" and "unreadable."

—*The Wanderer*, December 26, 1991

20. A Letter from Henry Hyde

1. I hope you and yours have a Blessed Christmas and most fulfilling 1992!

2. Your article on Pat & Joe was painful but essential.

21. A Letter from John Roche

Wanted to tell you what a splendid piece of analysis your anti-Semitism study was. One of the things that has always annoyed me was the assertion that Marshall, Acheson, Rusk, were anti-Semites (Forrestal *was*) in 1947–48. They simply did not want another loose cannon in the Levant and—as Rusk told me once—wished "to hell that God had promised them Nebraska."

22. A Letter from Jeff Nelligan

Once again, you've demonstrated the Right can look at itself honestly and even-handedly—something the other side has yet to do.

Superb job.

23. A Letter from Eric Alterman

I appreciated your use of my Rosenthal/Buchanan argument in your recent opus and found myself in accord with a surprisingly large percentage of what you had to say. Two points, however:

1. I think it wrong and unfair to hold "the Left" responsible for Vidal's mean-spiritedness and Navasky's blind spot—particularly when, in my essay, I condemned Vidal in the pages of *The Nation.*

2. I wrote Navasky exactly the letter that Podhoretz said he wanted—without any invitations—when I was being considered for the job of *Nation* Washington editor. I promised, I think, "to dance the hora for 24 hours straight if *Commentary* were defunded by the American Jewish Committee," but unfortunately, in the Vidal case, "Norman was right, Victor was wrong." I ccd a copy to Norman at the time, as I recall.

In any case, I salute the care and grace you brought to the subject.

24. A Letter from Patrick Andretta

In over 25 yrs of subscribing to *NR* I don't think I've ever read a piece as awful as B. Buckley's screed on anti-Semitism: it was too long, too boring, unconvincing, and misplaced. Mr. Buckley is obviously ready for permanent retirement.

25. A Letter from John E. Folan

I have canceled my subscription to your publication. You are, I think, too arrogant to know your sins.

I hold you in total contempt.

26. A Letter from Sam Tanenhaus

I've just read Mr. Buckley's essay on anti-Semitism. Its immediate readership may be limited to the cultural-political cloister; but that narrowing is what makes the piece so strong. What seems at first a limitation is instead a spiritualizing discipline. Time chastens, and future readers will demand essences; Mr. Buckley has provided an essence. The essay is narrow as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* is narrow—it opens onto very wide vistas, like a diagnosis of distemper that includes a geography of the central nervous system.

Another metaphor also imposes itself: he has created a kind of music. Instead of simply stating his opinions—and how tiresome opinions become—he has orchestrated voices (Buchanan, Judis, Kinsley, Kristol, Podhoretz, Sobran, etc.) that heard together give us the whole range and register of our political journalism. The essence again. How liberating to hear what it all sounds like—not just the individual diatribes but their cumulative resonance, something to which we are chronically deaf because we overlook, or refuse to acknowledge, that all disputants are, despite themselves, collaborators, united by their passion for the very thing that drives them apart and that compels them into mimicry of one another's words and phrasings, so that an outsider, overhearing the debate, has trouble untangling the strands and determining who stands where. A guess: a future biographer will conclude that this essay is the beautiful synthesis of 1) the many public debates Mr. Buckley has led over the years and 2) his personal "performing" journalism.

Your guide to the right schools.

New from NR! Presenting the *National Review* "Top Fifty"!

The National Review College Guide

We'll get the bad part over with fast. Things are pretty bad on some campuses. There are no more course-distribution requirements — anything goes.

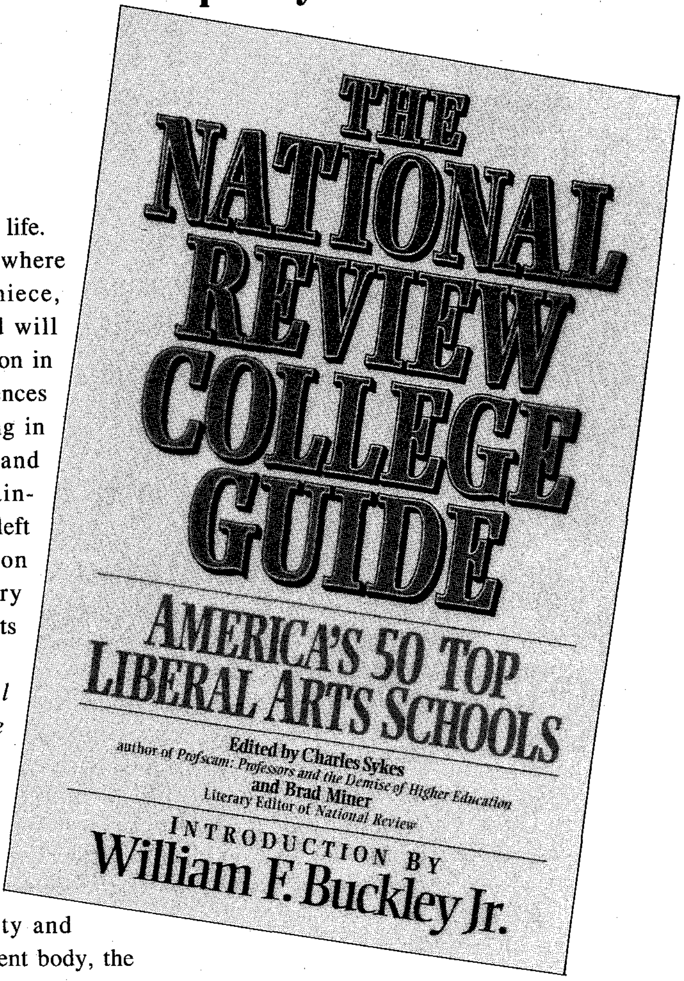
There is no core curriculum — because there is no core of common values on which to base one. There is cynicism in the classroom about the Western tradition and American values. And if all this isn't bad enough, there are curbs on free expression — it's better not to voice your views on certain subjects unless your opinions are "politically correct." You might flunk. You could become an outcast…or even be expelled.

Now the good news! NR has found fifty schools where things aren't like that at all — fifty colleges we can recommend with enthusiasm. Not all the colleges are conservative, but all are traditional in the ways which count — educational philosophy, purpose, and the quality of campus life.

These are colleges where your son, daughter, niece, nephew, or grandchild will receive a broad education in the humanities and sciences — not a narrow training in one particular field…and certainly not a brain-washing by far-out, far-left professors intent on destroying the very Western tradition parents are paying them to teach.

In the *National Review College Guide* we describe in detail what makes each of these recommended colleges special — including the core curriculum, the faculty and administration, the student body, the location, and, in many instances, foreign study programs. Each of these institutions is unique — with its own purpose and sense of identity.

You can't rely on the usual college guides to help you identify these schools. Nor can you count on most "guidance" experts. But you can count on *The National Review College Guide.* We've researched each college and stand behind every recommendation!



THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE

AMERICA'S 50 TOP LIBERAL ARTS SCHOOLS

Edited by Charles Sykes
author of *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education*
and Brad Miner
Literary Editor of *National Review*

INTRODUCTION BY
William F. Buckley Jr.

***The National Review College Guide* features a special introduction by William F. Buckley Jr. on how to choose a college and the purpose of higher education.**

5 Things That Make A College Great *(in our book).*

1. *Curricular common sense.* We look for a solid core curriculum based on the Western tradition and American values and virtues.
2. *Dedicated teaching.* This implies small classes taught by experienced faculty. If there are no graduate teaching assistants, it's a plus.
3. *The administration has a sense of purpose*—doesn't cave in to every capricious faculty or student demand or change direction with every new trend.
4. *Congenial quality of campus life* — offering a wholesome social and intellectual environment, free of intense political pressures.
5. *Student life is supervised.* Administrators care about what goes on in the dorms as well as in the class-room, because they *care* about students. Faculty advisors are accessible to help guide students.

☐ **YES! Please send me *The National Review College Guide*…at no risk!**

I want _____ copies at $14.95 each plus $2.00 shipping and handling (no extra charge for shipping additional copies). If not completely satisfied, I have 30 days to return the book for a full refund of my purchase price.

☐ Check enclosed. Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Account #: Exp. Date:

Signature:

Name (please print)

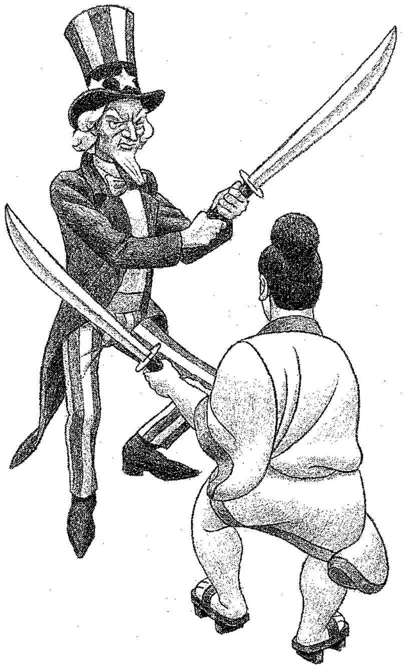
Address

City

State Zip

Mail To: National Review College Guide 31692
150 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

Give Extra Copies! The Guide make a great gift for your local library or school. Help us spread the good word about these excellent colleges!



Tora! Tora! Tariffs?

THE NEW PROTECTIONISM

Protectionism doesn't save jobs or raise anyone's living standard. It's good for only one thing: opening markets.

IRWIN M. STELZER

THE "America is in decline" crowd is at it again. You remember them: clutching copies of Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, they claimed that America was the victim of "imperial overstretch" and would soon collapse under the weight of its worldwide commitments, following Spain, Britain, and other former great powers into the dustbin of history.

No such luck. Instead, the USSR unraveled and America proved in Iraq its singular ability to project power on a global scale, albeit using a form of shared-burden financing that didn't occur to Philip II or Queen Victoria.

So the declinists retreated, to re-emerge under a new Japan-bashing, protectionist banner. Seizing on a combination of racist ignorance and quite sensible outrage at Japan's unfair trading practices, the declinists profess to see in our trade deficit the same symptoms of decline they previously attributed to Reaganomics: The American education system, starved for funds, is producing workers ill trained to cope with the new, intense international competition for markets. American manufacturing industries, suffering from a decade of laissez-faire policies and lacking the benefits of a MITI-like partnership with government, are unwilling or unable to produce the world-class goods that international markets demand. Only the rich, able to substitute private services (schools, pools, limousines) for cash-starved public ones, face the 1990s with equanimity.

So the dirge goes. The solutions are obvious to the mourners: an "industrial policy" that brings government into the business sector, "managed trade" to cut off imports of goods that hurt domestic industries otherwise destined to be "winners," and more spending on education, health care, and everything else. But such an expansion of social programs, to be paid by businesses directly or through higher taxes, will drive up costs of domestic manufacturers, making them more vulnerable to foreign competition. So protectionism is needed to shield high-cost American firms from competition from polluting Mexican industries and worker-abusing Asian industries. Protectionism, in short, is the cornerstone of any costly program of expanded social benefits. Without it, the costs of new programs would make American industry non-competitive.

That's why the fight to preserve something close to the present world trading system is so crucial. For free trade—or, at minimum, trade no less free than it now is—keeps competitive pressure on American businesses to keep costs down, and on American politicians not to drive those costs up by forcing businesses to finance programs that voters explicitly refuse to pay for with higher taxes.

Making the Case

THE CASE for free trade starts with theory, is supported by experience, and is clinched by a consideration of the alternatives.

The theory is quite simple, and best stated by Adam Smith:

> It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family, never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The taylor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker. The shoemaker does not attempt to make his own cloaths, but employs a taylor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers. . . .
>
> What is prudence in the conduct of every private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage.

It is, in short, foolish for us to expend $300 worth of labor, capital, and other resources to produce a VCR when Japan will sell it to us for $150. Perhaps, grumble the protectionists. But allowing foreigners access to our markets threatens what chief car salesman George Bush refers to as "jobs, jobs, jobs." Not so.

Mr. Stelzer is a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

The post–World War II expansion of world trade brought with it one of the longest periods of sustained prosperity the world has ever known. The years between 1950 and 1973 were a golden era of free trade, with tariffs tumbling and non-tariff barriers not yet common. World trade grew at an annual rate of almost 7 per cent, and world income at a bit under 5 per cent. Not all of the rising prosperity was a result of the increased international exchange of goods and services. But some was: the growth in trade allowed countries to specialize in those goods they could most efficiently produce, and to exchange them for the efficiently produced goods of other countries.

The Seeds of Decline?

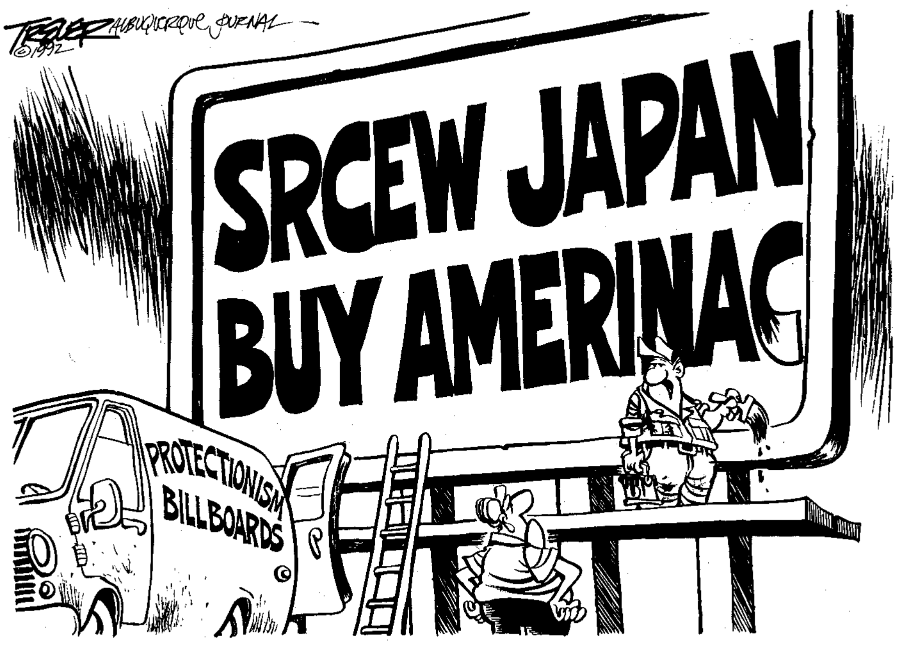
UNFORTUNATELY, the growth in world trade coincided with an end to the trade surpluses to which America had become accustomed, causing some to see in that trade growth the seeds of American decline. In 1971 we ran our first merchandise trade deficit since 1893, and only our third since 1876. In 1983, we began persistently to import more goods and services than we exported. The reasons offered range from an overvalued dollar consequent on President Reagan's allegedly misguided economic policies, to Japan's insistence on closing its markets to American goods, thereby converting our free-trade policy into one of unilateral disarmament in the new economic war. Whatever the reason, America began running merchandise trade deficits with Japan in 1965, and has done so ever since.

These deficits had four characteristics that played into the hands of protectionists. First, they appeared on President Reagan's watch, making them a natural target of Democrats (anyhow beholden to the trade unions, whose members were most affected) and of the liberal media, whose anchors and scriveners gagged on the obvious success of Reaganomics.

Equally important, the deficits were more than dry statistics tumbling out of some government office. Unlike the federal deficit, which you can't see, hear, or touch, the trade deficit has visible physical manifestations. You can see a Mitsubishi television set, hear a Sony Walkman, touch a Toyota. Our exports, on the other hand, are visible to only a few—Boeing's work force and a few American passengers might notice that Japan Air Lines flies made-in-America 747s, but most Americans don't.

Third, America's burgeoning trade deficits coincided with the crumbling of the institution most closely associated with the success of American capitalism: the giant corporation. Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford, dinosaurs managed by Neanderthals, proved insufficiently in touch with their markets to respond to Japanese competition. IBM eventually had to strip down and make a belated effort to develop "intrapreneurship." America's large steel makers failed to invest in the new technology that their smaller, more flexible rivals, domestic and foreign, were installing. And huge banks such as Citicorp came as close to ruin as a survivor can—for reasons having nothing to do with foreign competition.

In short, the American economy and its corporate form of organization were under threat from more efficient "raiders," eager to break conglomerates into manageable bits, and from more flexible entrepreneurs (a man and his computer in a beach hut is now a desk-top publisher; a man and his brain in a Silicon Valley garage can now outcompete a large corporate rival). And from foreign competitors. But the latter received *all* of the blame for the plight of the traditional corporocrats—not least because those executives' well-oiled public-relations machines tirelessly cited Japanese perfidy—rather than their own inefficiency, their insulation from the interests of their shareholders, and their lack of contact with consumers—as the source of America's problems.



"HEY, WHADDYA EXPECT? IT'S MONDAY!"

That is not to say the Japanese are blameless. Their persistent refusal to open their markets to American and other products is the final reason—and perhaps the most important one—for such success as the protectionists have had. Using product standards to bar the import of skis because foreign skis are allegedly unsuitable for Japanese snow, arguing that restricting the import of rice is necessary to food self-sufficiency and national defense, limiting the availability of high-technology products, and using procurement rules to prevent foreigners from bidding on large construction projects, the Japanese nevertheless profess amazement at the irritation provoked by their one-way version of free trade.

But irritation is not a basis for policy. The public interest is. And that interest is hardly served by denying Americans access to reasonably priced, easily maintained automobiles and consumer electronic products. Indeed, one has only to compare Japanese with American living standards to see who suffers from protectionism, and who benefits from free trade. The Japanese protect their inefficient farmers, forcing Japanese consumers to pay six times the world price for rice. Japanese consumers pay $30 per pound for high-quality beef that Americans buy for about half that. According to OECD estimates, the average American can still buy about one-third more with his earnings than can his Japanese counterpart. On current trends it will take the Japanese until well into the next century to catch up.

Americans have more than one car for every two people, the Japanese fewer than one for every four. We have 20 per cent more telephones and 40 per cent more TV sets per capita. Newly built houses in America average more than two thousand square feet; a Japanese family moving into a newly built house (older ones are smaller) must squeeze into half that space. Americans also have more parks, shorter travel-to-work times, and more leisure facilities than do the Japanese.

Little wonder that few residents of Beverly Hills, or even New York, want to live in Japan, while the reverse traffic is far from insignificant. Japan is not some Oriental Eden. It is an island nation of overworked, underserved consumers longing to breathe free . . . trade. Even so, its trade surplus with America is steadily shrinking, and highly concentrated in one sector—automobiles. About 75 per cent of our deficit with Japan is due to our preference for efficient Toyotas and Nissans, and their unwillingness to return the favor by buying American cars that have the steering wheels on the wrong side, consume too much gasoline, and are too big to fit in most Japanese driveways and on many streets. True, the Japanese make it difficult for foreign manufacturers to sell cars to them. But it is most likely the case that the Japanese are better car makers than we are, just as the Saudis are more efficient oil producers and we are more efficient air-frame manufacturers. This latter superiority is not an anomaly, an island of American success in a sea of failure. Harvard's Joseph Nye (*Bound to Lead*) estimates that America now accounts for about 25 per cent of world product—almost the same share it accounted for in the mid 1960s, and in 1938, and even in 1900. Only in the period immediately following World War II, when Europe and Japan were in ruins, did America's share soar to the levels that present-day protectionists use as a target.

Nor is it true that the mix of what we produce has shown a nasty tendency to emphasize low-value goods and commodities. Andrew Warner, staff economist at the Federal Reserve Board, estimates that capital goods such as computers and industrial machinery (but excluding autos and defense goods) account for a rising share both of U.S. manufacturing output and of exports. They now account for 38 per cent of total manufactures, up from 28 per cent in 1967. And exports of capital goods have risen to 4 per cent of our gross domestic product (GDP), compared with only 1.4 per cent in the late 1960s. In the end, America remains the world's largest exporter of aircraft, agricultural and industrial chemicals, office and computing machines, and engines; and is second in electrical machinery, plastics, and (legal) drugs.

And yet, and yet . . .

Good End, Wrong Means

THE protectionist arguments resonate with some voters. This is especially true in a recession, when unemployment is a concern. But if the aim of protectionism is to save or create jobs, it is an expensive and inefficient means to that end. Japan's acceptance of President Reagan's "voluntary" restriction on auto imports cost $240,000 annually per job saved, according to the staff of the Federal Trade Commission. And it added $1,300 to the price of every car imported from Japan in 1984, according to the U.S. International Trade Commission.

Similar restrictions on steel imports are estimated by the Federal Trade Commission staff to have cost consumers $113,622 per year per steel-industry job saved. Worse still, the International Trade Commission found that job losses in steel-using industries offset the 20,000 to 22,000 steel jobs preserved; because of higher costs, those industries saw their export markets shrink. And it apparently costs about $76,000 for us to protect each job in the sugar business, at a total cost to consumers of $3 billion per year.

It would be far cheaper to pay all these workers to stay home than to protect their jobs. And far more sensible to give them a lump sum to use for retraining, or to retire, if we decide they warrant special consideration. It would also make sense to ignore Japan's protectionism, and gleefully accept any subsidized exports they send our way. If they want to deny themselves access to our beef, why should we respond by denying ourselves access to their cars? Why not turn the other cheek when hit by Japanese restrictions on U.S. imports?

Because it would, in the end, be both economically unsound and politically impossible to do so. The economically sound approach would be to try to persuade Japan to open its markets to our goods and services, which would increase employment here and consumer welfare in Japan. That will take unremitting pressure on Japan's politicians, who are no braver than ours (or those in France and Germany) when it comes to facing down politically overrepresented farmers and other organized pressure groups. Only if threatened with consequences worse than the loss of some farm votes will Japanese politicians loosen restrictions on agricultural imports; only if threatened with reduced employment in their export industries will they say "no" to the small retailers who want to bar American mass merchandisers from their shores. Other-cheek-turning will not get trade barriers lowered.

So, too, with the host of other barriers. Japan seems quite unembarrassed to be a world pariah, using the doctrine of free trade to support its export drive while relying on mercantilist policies to restrain imports. It uses product standards that don't conform to international norms to keep out metal baseball bats, certification procedures to exclude foreign-made medical and communications equipment, the patent approval process to delay the use of foreign technologies until Japanese firms have copied them, and procurement practices to keep out communications satellites and supercomputers. The list goes on.

And suggests the solution, or if not the solution at least the optimal policy approach. That involves, first, the good sense to ignore attempts to use trade problems as an excuse to support some other program. Certainly we should improve our educational system. And wage a war on drugs. And save the ozone layer. And improve the infrastructure. If such programs are worth pursuing, they should be pursued—whether we have a trade deficit or a trade surplus.

Second, don't put much faith in programs designed to make us more like the Japanese and the Japanese more like us. Any policy based on the notion that we can somehow persuade or force the Japanese to take more vacations, give up their tight relationships between businesses and banks, or save less is doomed to failure. So, too, is any policy aimed at getting Americans to give up vacations, work harder, live in smaller houses, and in other ways be less "self-indulgent." We may want the Japanese to be more like us, and they may think the world would be a better place if we were more like them. But such forced cultural convergence is just not in the cards.

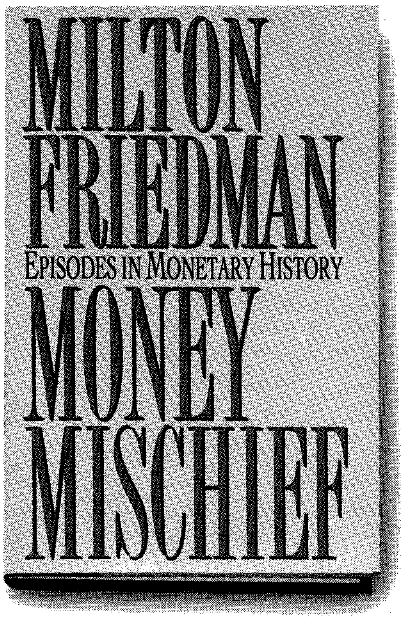
Finally, we can abandon all notions of adhering to a textbook program of free trade, unilateral if necessary. That just won't wash, politically. Americans' sense of fairness would be offended by the notion that their free-trading (not entirely true), open, competitive country was doing nothing to wring concessions from protectionist (not entirely true), closed, cartelized Japan. So although it may be counterproductive to react to Japan's refusal to open its markets to us by closing some of our markets to the Japanese, react we will. That reaction, however, need not take the form of old-style protectionism, or its modern variant, "managed trade." The economic arguments against that are too powerful, the linkage between freer trade and worldwide economic growth too obvious, for the Gephardts of the world to carry the day politically. On a more mundane level, Americans are simply too smart to give up their inexpensive and mechanically sound VCRs, television sets, and automobiles, in order to avenge themselves on unfair Japanese traders.

That leaves only one course, a middle ground between protectionism and unilateral free trade. This is neither neat nor intellectually satisfying: the purity of free-trade theory can't comfortably enfold a dash of reciprocal protection, even as a weapon to open markets. But the use of market-closing threats to pry markets open is the only tool available to move us to freer trade. And not only with Japan.

We are currently involved in tough negotiations with the Europeans in the so-called Uruguay Round to extend GATT. Those negotiations have made it clear that early fears of a Fortress Europe are well founded. Scratch a European "federalist" and you find a protectionist. Dirigiste French ministers want to protect the European Community's auto manufacturers from Japanese, American, and even British-made (but Japanese-marqued) cars. EC farmers want to exclude Polish hams and Eastern European produce. Germans, lumbered with the costs of their welfare state, trade-union work rules, and unification, view foreign competition with increasing antipathy. And all EC members willingly heed France's call for quotas on American films and television programs.

We can't bring down the walls of this new fortress by reading passages from *The Wealth of Nations* to EC President Jacques Delors. So we must find a way to strengthen our position vis-à-vis Europe as well as Japan. Enter the North American Free Trade Agreement. By creating a common market with our Mexican and Canadian neighbors we gain two advantages: the efficiencies of freer trade with them, and a larger bloc with which to confront the Europeans and Japanese. Neither would like being excluded from U.S. markets; they would fear even more the combined retaliatory power of Canada, Mexico, the United States, and, eventually, Latin America.

A third trade bloc, to joust with Japan and Europe? Alas, yes. But use of the reciprocity club, especially to ob-



The dollars, sense, and nonsense of a thing called money.

From stones to feathers to gold,
Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman provides a
wealth of information on the history of money.
In layman's English, he discusses how the
U.S. monetary system affects your paycheck
as well as the global economy.

"A lively, enlightening introduction to monetary history...
informed and informative perspectives
from monetarism's most articulate apostle."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

HBJ
HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVICH
Available at bookstores everywhere.

tain multilateral trade openings, is precisely the policy that underlies GATT and that has been the basis of U.S. trade dealings, most notably with Japan, but with Europe as well. This means walking the line between protectionism and unilateral economic disarmament by keeping the pressure on the Japanese and other trading partners to open their markets, threatening them with selective retaliation if they do not, and actually retaliating with sufficient frequency to make the threat credible. This may not be as instantly gratifying as Japan-bashing and a policy described by one British tabloid as "up yours, Delors," or as grand as plans to bring American and Japanese lifestyles and domestic policies into harmony, or as theoretically correct as a policy of unilateral free trade. But it is economically sound and politically viable, and should keep chipping away at the impediments to trade that impoverish all participants in the world economy. ☐

Iraq & America

WIDE OPEN SECRET COUP

Nothing we do seems to stop Saddam. And if we do pull off a palace coup, we are in real trouble.

ALBERT WOHLSTETTER

Ken Westphal

LEAKS about PsyOps (psychological warfare operations) and other American covert operations to bring about a palace coup in Iraq are reaching flood tide. If there is anything in these leaks from unnamed American officials, no covert operation has ever been more overt. This is not one of your sneaky secret operations (like the Iran affair). Anonymous officials want everyone to be clear that it hasn't preceded, it has followed, a formal presidential "finding" and notification of Congress.

On December 15, Saddam took formal notice of the "daily" Western reports about an imminent military coup against him in an Iraqi TV broadcast. Noting that the West was seeking agents for such a coup in his inner circle, he volunteered himself to be its leader. And Ibrahim Izzat, one of the military officers seated with him, could act as deputy.

Neither Saddam nor any of his inner circle would be likely to win an election. He doesn't need to. Saddam rules by fear. And maybe the most terrified are "the tense-looking military men," to quote the Reuters dispatch, on whom he pinned "'Mother of All Battles' sashes and medals" at this same TV conference.

The daily leakers have tried to make clear that their PsyOps aim *only* at a palace coup. They expressly avoid talk of replacing the dictatorship by some democratic alternative of the sort that dissident Iraqis, representing Sunni and Shia Arabs as well as Kurds, have been trying to organize since before Desert Shield.

A coup replacing Saddam with another dictator chosen from his inner circle will not be easy. Saddam, as some of us have pointed out for over a dozen years, is no great military strategist. He is, however, an expert on internal coups and their prevention and cure. A cunning and brutal dictator, he is wholly unimpressed by hardships imposed on innocent Iraqi civilians by the UN embargoes. Embargoes are blunt, indiscriminate instruments. The narrower the ruling circle at which embargoes are aimed, the easier it is to insulate that ruling circle from their effects. A totalitarian dictator can tolerate pain inflicted on his civilian subjects more easily than democratic rulers can inflict it.

It should have been apparent during Desert Shield to the many who opposed authorizing the use of force by President Bush that the embargo by itself was quite unlikely to get Saddam out of Kuwait; or even to get him to accept only the part of Kuwait which many proponents of the embargo were willing to offer him. Iraq began the eight-year war that followed its invasion of Iran with $35 billion in credits and ended it $85 billion in debt, a net loss of $120 billion; and emerged as the dominant military

---

Mr. Wohlstetter, University Professor, Emeritus, University of Chicago, directed a several-year study in the late Seventies on interests and power in the Persian Gulf. It included analyses of potential invasions by Iraq of Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, and of Afghanistan by the USSR.

power in the Gulf, ready to wipe out that debt by coercion and conquest. No one familiar with that record, or the huge human losses Iraq suffered during the war, or the horrific gassing of Iraqi Kurds carried out immediately after the war by the Ba'ath leadership, should have believed that the pre–Desert Storm *embargo alone* would get Saddam out of Kuwait. And none of President Bush's men who understood very well the inadequacy of the embargo before Desert Storm should have been under any illusion that an embargo after Desert Storm would be enough to get Saddam out of power.

There he stands, one year later. He may outlast our elections. He may even outlast President Bush.

So it is only natural if, once again, the Administration, and possibly the Saudis, are thinking about psychological operations appealing to the Iraqi people, and especially to Saddam's inner circle, to risk a coup.

Such appeals *might* be successful. But we shouldn't count on it. Saddam has recently repeated one of his most cruel and effective stratagems directed at keeping his inner circle in line. In 1979, while French, American, and other intelligence agencies were describing Iraq's supposed move toward moderation, he filled a large auditorium with his aides, and he himself made a videotape, which has been circulating ever since, of the proceedings. As his tense captive audience watched and perspired, he announced that he could tell when an aide was about to betray him, even before the aide knew it himself. He then called out successive imminent traitors, and invited other members of the audience to take part in their execution.

More recently, Saddam has allowed the circulation of videotapes showing some of the aftermath of the coalition PsyOps during Desert Storm. Saddam, of course, had used the artillery, tanks, and other heavy combat equipment which we had left undestroyed to annihilate the rebellion of the dissident majority and minorities. The tapes that have recently appeared on Western TV display some of the most prominent members of Saddam's inner military circle, the one we're trying to penetrate, slapping, kicking, and otherwise abusing and torturing some of the dissidents who responded to our PsyOps. Saddam counts on such displays to have a sobering affect on prospective dissidents. At the same time, it implicates them in the suppression of the widespread dissidence in the population as a whole.

Nonetheless, if the leaks are accurate, this wide-open secret coup aims to replace Saddam but not the dictatorship. It seems to exclude an Iraqi *provisional government* that would hold elections and could be counted on to recognize the rights of the Sunni Arab minority (of which Saddam's tribe is a part) as well as the Kurds and the dissident Shia majority.

That may make it easier for Saddam to evade assassination and continue to hold on to power. Bad for the population of Iraq and extremely bad for its neighbors like the Saudis, traditional Bedouins still, who obviously fear the ultimate tribal revenge by Saddam.

But Saddam's cunning might fail him. His bloody craft and luck might both run out.

If We Succeed

THAT COULD be even worse. Suppose we *do* manage a coup and achieve Saddam's replacement by some reckless member of his inner circle. In the process, we would find ourselves with a substantial responsibility for the new dictator's suppression of the dissident population.

We've been down that road before—with General Za'im in Syria, Colonel Nasser in Egypt, and General Big

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE MONT PELERIN SOCIETY

announces the

Olive W. Garvey Fellowships

for the

1992 GENERAL MEETING
OF THE MONT PELERIN SOCIETY
(Vancouver, British Columbia - August 30 - September 4, 1992)

The Garvey Fellowships will be awarded
for the three best essays on the topic

'MARKETS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA:
CONTROLLED OR FREE?'

Essays of not more than 5,000 words may be submitted by students or young faculty members 35 years of age or younger, who are not members of the Mont Pelerin Society.

The essays will be judged by a panel of three senior members of The Mont Pelerin Society. Deadline for submission of essays is 15 May 1992.

First prize Garvey Fellow Award of $2,500 + $1,000 travel grant to participate in the Society's Vancouver meeting.

Second Prize Garvey Fellow Award of $1,500 + $1,000 travel grant to participate in the Society's Vancouver meeting.

Third Prize Garvey Fellow Award of $1,000 + $1,000 travel grant to participate in the Society's Vancouver meeting.

Further information is available from:
The Mont Pelerin Society
P.O. Box 7031
Alexandria, Virginia 22307, USA

Minh in South Vietnam. And it has never led us where we want to go. In this case we would find it hard to support the continuing embargo on Iraq's export of oil. And much harder to press for continuing drastic intrusions into Iraq's closed society by UN inspectors. Dictators, by necessity, are more serious about secrecy than democracies.

We might then find ourselves with a new Ba'ath dictator sitting on top of the world's second largest reserve of low-cost oil, one better able than Saddam to use oil revenues to rebuild the Iraqi military, including its capability for producing weapons of mass destruction. The coalition vastly overestimated the reliability with which one could uncover and exclude (by reconnaissance and bombing or by ground inspections and seizures) all substantial elements of programs for making nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Under the more relaxed regime that would follow when we have replaced Saddam with our own selected member of his inner circle, keeping our new man under control would be chancy if not impossible.

Why Not Overt Operations?

IT JUST MIGHT be better to work overtly, since it's not very shameful, with the Iraqis who have been trying (without much help) to draft plans for a more open and tolerant society in which individuals can communicate with one another and with the outside world without the prospect of torture and death. Instead of clandestine broadcasts (or the open Voice of America, whose job is to tell the world about the U.S. and U.S. policy) we might try broadcasts that are an open surrogate for broadcasts from inside the country about those Iraqis who want a free Iraq. Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, and many brave citizens of the former Soviet Republics have said the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were crucial for them. "If we can reach Baghdad," says a leader of the Kurds, who have been using short-range TV stations they seized in northern Iraq, "it will be more effective than bombing Saddam." A Radio Free Iraq seems a worthwhile gamble.

The diverse Iraqi factions seeking a free Iraq to replace the Baghdad dictatorship want a federal democratic republic, not its disintegration. Since the British, some seventy years ago, put together the three Ottoman *vilayets* of Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul to form Mesopotamia (now Iraq), their populations, which had had little interest or experience in living together, have intermarried extensively and have developed educated professional and business classes. The free Iraqis have been issuing newspapers and newsletters and holding conferences in several foreign cities avowing a strong interest in the rights of minorities, in the rule of law, and in the institutions of democracy. They plan another conference in San Francisco in April to draft an Iraqi Bill of Rights.

The prospects for such a regime in Iraq look a lot better than for a similar regime among some of its neighbors. They are more plausible than the prospects for a benign military dictatorship, compliant with UN demands and friendly to the West. That's what the West thought had emerged in Iraq after Iraq's war on Iran.

There are risks in supporting democratic self-rule, but they're a lot smaller than the risks undertaken in many of our previous adventures as "apprentice sorcerers" (to use Elie Kedourie's phrase), trying to replace one dictator with another in Syria, in Egypt, and elsewhere. If we're going to gamble and perhaps make mistakes, we might as well try some new departures. Instead of the secret wide open coup we might avoid self-contradiction altogether, and aim at opening Iraq to Iraqis—to democracy and the rule of law. That would be consistent with the values of our own flawed, but wide open, society. ☐

Prison Reform

HIGHEST COURT COST

Concern for "prisoners' rights" has turned prisons into jungles. Can they be tamed?

EUGENE H. METHVIN

IN TWO landmark days, first the U.S. Justice Department and then the Supreme Court jerked on the reins of federal judges, curbing their penchant for jumping into prison management. On January 14 Attorney General William Barr announced that federal lawyers will help states challenge caps on prison inmate populations negotiated under threat of a federal judge's takeover. And on January 15 the Supreme Court, in a 6 to 2 decision, ordered judges to reconsider such decrees when "a significant change in factual conditions" makes compliance "substantially more onerous"—for example, when street crime soars and more criminals need to be locked away for public safety.

Until two decades ago federal judges kept their hands off state prison systems. Then in 1969 the Warren Court held, in *Johnson* v. *Avery*, that the Eighth Amendment's prohibition against "cruel and unusual punishments" could cover a wide array of prisoner complaints. Federal judges lost no time in jumping into this new imperial domain, babbling about "evolving standards of decency." The 1969 case involved floggings with a leather strap in the Arkansas prisons, but soon county commissioners in Crisp County, Georgia were compelled to provide prisoners with air conditioning and television under threat of having their jail held "unconstitutional." "It's gotten to the point that criminals ask us for prison time instead of probation," declares Texas Judge Michael McSpadden.

The federal judges loosed upon America's prisons a horde of lawyers, idealists, and social engineers. They ordered 41 states to reduce prison

---

Mr. Methvin is a Senior Editor at Reader's Digest.

crowding. Though the Supreme Court in 1981 refused to hold that double-bunking in prison cells violates the Constitution, lower judges still declare unconstitutional cells that may be as large as eighty square feet—more than twice the size of nuclear submarine officers' quarters accommodating two or three men.

Nowhere has reform by judicial decree yielded more sobering results than in Texas. In 1981, Federal Judge William W. Justice was appalled to find that prison guards maintained order by arming older, more experienced prisoners, called "building tenders" or "BTs," with pipes and clubs to coerce others into conformity. These BTs administered rough and sometimes savage justice.

But *no* prison gangs were allowed to form, and the weaker inmates were protected from bullying and homosexual rape. Inmates who wanted merely to keep out of trouble and serve their time were let alone. One expert, State University of New York Professor Bruce Jackson, declared: "What looks like gratuitous repressiveness is actually a very rational policy. Texas officials decided years ago they would not permit the kind of violence that goes on in other prison systems. If a son of mine were ever imprisoned, I would much rather he be in Texas prisons than in New York's."

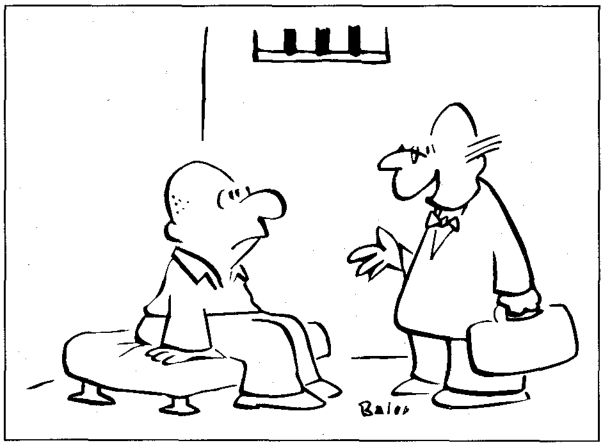
To reform the Texas system, Judge Justice appointed a Toledo, Ohio, law professor, Vincent Nathan, who had had no experience in corrections before he became the favorite prison-reform expert of federal judges. "The rule of law has finally come to Texas prisons," chortled William Bennett Turner, the San Francisco lawyer who represented the prisoners. Wronger words were never spoken. Jungle law was about to arrive.

Swift Injustice

AS THE old system was uprooted and new guards hired and trained, prison gangs formed and took over. Homicides among inmates, virtually unknown previously, soared to 52 in just two years. By late 1985, homicides were occurring at the rate of one a day.

With the bodies figuratively piling high on his doorstep, Judge Justice backed off significantly. Prison authorities were given greater leeway in punishing and rewarding prisoners. Judge Justice stayed out of it when they resorted to a wholesale lockdown of 17,000 inmates, rounding up without the slightest "due process" known troublemakers and everyone suspected of gang involvement. Today Texas keeps about 20,000 prisoners in "administrative segregation," allowing them outside their cells for showers or exercise only under armed guard. But inmate murders have fallen to only one a year.

Meanwhile, the guard-to-prisoner ratio doubled, and Texas taxpayers' cost per prisoner soared more than tenfold. Legislators refused to vote higher taxes to build more prison space, and crime soared. While the nation's crime rate dropped 4 per cent in ten years, the Texas crime rate rose 29 per cent. Prisoners saw the proportion of their sentences they had to serve drop from 56 per cent to less than 14 per cent. For the first time ever, in 1986 there were more convicts on parole than behind bars. In 1980 no Texas city ranked in the top twenty in the U.S. in property-crime rates. By 1988, thirteen of the top twenty were in Texas. Legislators were shocked to discover that prison officials struggling to stay under Judge Justice's population cap were giving early releases to hundreds of convicts held in solitary confinement because they were deemed too dangerous to mix with the general prison population. Instead, they were loosed directly upon the unsuspecting public.



"I got your sentence reduced from tar and feathers to molasses and confetti."

Today Texas has the nation's second highest crime rate. Last November voters approved a $1.1-billion bond issue to add 25,000 new prison beds by the end of 1993.

Bad as things are in Texas, they are worse in Massachusetts. The state until recently had the nation's most crowded prison system, with more than 7,900 inmates in prisons designed for about 4,500. Convicted drug dealers serving mandatory three-year sentences account for more than 20 per cent of the crowding. The state has funded construction of only a thousand new beds. Result: In six months Boston police arrested 4,125 drug defendants, but judges sent fewer than fifty to prison. Georgette Watson, founder of a Roxbury citizens' anti-drug group, protests: "The community is doing its part reporting drug dealers. The police are picking them up. Then hardly anyone is being put away. It sends out the message that crime does pay." Chief Judge Robert L. Steadman adds: "The public must understand that either we are going to have drug dealers in newly built prisons and jails, or we're going to have them in our neighborhoods."

This was the situation the Supreme Court dealt with last month. In 1979 Massachusetts officials had agreed to a decree forbidding "double-bunking"—keeping two prisoners to a cell.

A week later in an Ohio case the Supreme Court ruled that double occupancy does not violate the Eighth Amendment. Yet for a dozen years Suffolk County (Boston) Sheriff Robert Rufo, who has 88-square-foot cells, has had to bus inmates to distant counties with no such judicial orders where they end up two to a 48-square-foot cell. "We've had inmates barricade themselves in their cells here and beg to be allowed to be double-bunked," reports Rufo.

After Federal Judge Robert E. Keeton in Boston ordered convicts released on the grounds that crowded conditions violated their constitutional rights, Germaine Jackson, a black mother of three, showed a *Boston Globe* reporter the $1,500 worth of iron bars she installed after her home was robbed three times in two weeks. "What about my rights?" demanded Mrs. Jackson. "What about my right not to be robbed all the time? What about my kids' right to be released from this jail cell *we* live in?"

The Supreme Court heard her plea. It laid down new standards under which states may seek changes in consent decrees, and ordered Judge Keeton to look anew at double-bunking in Massachusetts. Mr. Dooley said, "The Supreme Court follows the election returns"—a rule voters should remember in the 1992 presidential sweepstakes. □

Sentence First, Verdict Afterward

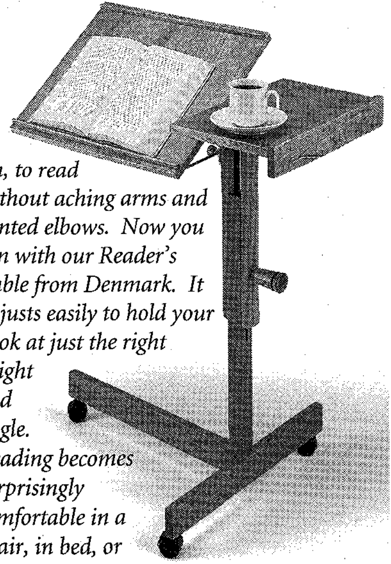
BANKRUPTED BY EPA

Think the FBI is tough? *These* guys make the IRS look kind and gentle.

PETER SAMUEL

LAST MONTH the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) put out a thick "Note to Correspondents" and staged a press conference on what it called its "record-breaking enforcement accomplishments for clean water in 1991." It was a "banner year for enforcement," with 3,109 prosecutions, $28 million in penalties, and 346 months of incarceration for the polluters.

Lay Down Your Arms



Ah, to read without aching arms and dented elbows. Now you can with our Reader's Table from Denmark. It adjusts easily to hold your book at just the right height and angle. Reading becomes surprisingly comfortable in a chair, in bed, or beside a desk. An intelligent design and a handsome piece of furniture in mahogany, teak, cherry, or black ash.

$199 + **$9.95** shipping via UPS ground
Assembly required—but worth it.
MC/VISA/AMEX/Check • Florida add 6%
Money-Back Guarantee • Catalog on Request
800-544-0880 or 407-276-4141

LEVENGER
TOOLS FOR SERIOUS READERS
975 S. Congress Ave., Code NART7, Delray, FL 33445

"The 1991 numbers [of prosecutions] are more than all previous years combined," said the EPA. But does this mean justice is being done?

Take the case of Lewis "Chuck" Law, 54, of Charleston, West Virginia. Mr. Law was sentenced in U.S. District Court to $160,000 in fines and two years in jail for breaches of the federal Clean Water Act.

Mr. Law's nightmare encounter with the environmental scalp-hunt began with his purchase of the surface rights to 241 acres near the town of Summerlee in Fayette County, West Virginia. He bought the land in April 1980 for $160,000 from the New River Coal Company, which had decided to close an old coal-washing plant on the site. Mr. Law, a history buff, wanted to restore the old company store, and thought he might be able to develop some of the land for mobile homes or an industrial park.

He knew nothing of any water pollution problems when he bought the property, but soon after found that some springs there discharge water that is acidic and contains suspended iron and manganese. The acidity has tested at about the level of Coca-Cola; it is not unhealthy to drink. The suspended iron and manganese are not unhealthy for humans either, though they look awful—they give the water a dirty reddish color—and could be hurting aquatic life.

Downstream, in Fayetteville (pop. 5,000), people started complaining about Mr. Law's water flowing into their reservoir. Their bathtubs and toilets were stained with a fine red sediment that could have come from the springs on Mr. Law's property. The town has since fixed the problem by diluting the reservoir water with well water, but local environmentalists recently renewed the attack on Mr. Law when young fish were found dead in the creek downstream of his property. Mr. Law has witnesses who say that the fish—from a state hatchery—were already dead from negligent handling when the state dumped them in the creek.

Experts Say . . .

AT HIS TRIAL in the U.S. District Court in Beckley, West Virginia, Mr. Law did not deny that the water coming off his property was polluted under the terms of the federal Clean Water Act. His defense was that his property was not the source of the pollution. He had the opinions of two leading experts in water pollution that the acid and metal contamination originated in old coal mines higher up the watershed, and that the polluted water ran underground to emerge in the springs on his property.

The government maintained instead that the pollution came from a now-overgrown deposit on his property of coal refuse material (commonly called "gob") left by the old coal-washing plant.

One of Law's expert witnesses, Dr. George Hall, points out that the two coal seams above Law's property are "notoriously acidic" and concludes that "acid mine water is seeping down the two hollows beneath the gob pile to emerge beneath the toe of the gob pile." He says he has seen many such acid springs in the state that exist without the presence of gob piles.

The charge on which Mr. Law was tried was failure "to chemically treat the acid water discharges from the coal refuse pile." Government inspectors had demanded that he treat the water with soda ash to neutralize it and precipitate the unsightly iron

Mr. Samuel runs Greentrack International, a Washington, D.C.–based news service that covers environmental issues from a skeptical perspective.

salts, a process that would cost $5,000 a week to run, and would have to run indefinitely. Mr. Law's only present income from the property is $225 per month for leasing the old company store to the U.S. Postal Service. The government's charges have prevented him from moving ahead with his other plans for development of the site.

The prosecution did not argue that the discharges from the springs constituted any health hazard. They just didn't meet EPA clean-water standards. And in what appears to be a complete perversion of the principles of common law, the U.S. Attorney prosecuting the case argued that it is immaterial under the Clean Water Act whether the property owner is the cause of the pollution. He argued that under the act the defendant could be found guilty simply on the basis that polluted water was emerging from his property, regardless of its source.

Judge Elizabeth Hallanan accepted this extraordinary proposition. She instructed the jury: "The offense consists of the knowing discharge of a pollutant from a point source into a water of the United States. For the purpose of the Clean Water Act, all the government must prove is that the defendants knew the general character and nature of the materials they were discharging."

Mr. Law now has a civil action going against the mining companies that own the property where he thinks the pollution originates. In any case, there would seem to be an argument in natural law that if one has only bought the surface title to a piece of land and has no rights to the minerals underground, then one has no responsibility for what bubbles up from below.

But the U.S. Government, and now a district judge, say the source of pollution is immaterial. By their reasoning, you will be responsible for treating any contaminated water that flows off your land, regardless of who is responsible for it. If a truck comes off the road and dumps a load of chemicals on your land, you will be guilty of a felony under the Clean Water Act if you don't treat any pollution that runs off. And what about water coming off your property from acid rain?

Mr. Law has seriously tried to give his land away since environmental "law" turned it from a small asset into a disastrous liability, but of course there are no takers. ☐

WANTED!

President of Education Foundation

to succeed a retiring President of an organization founded in 1976 that teaches students and teachers the fundamentals of the Free Enterprise System.

Requirements

1. The applicant must be an enthusiastic disciple and articulator of the principles of freedom, namely,

PRIVATE PROPERTY - LIMITED GOVERNMENT - FREE MARKETS

2. The applicant must be an enthusiastic executive with organizational ability and experience in attracting, challenging and leading a small group of employees and a large group of volunteers.

3. The applicant must have a successful track record and have displayed expertise in fund raising.

Individuals eager for an opportunity to make a meaningful contribution in promoting the Freedom Philosophy should write to:

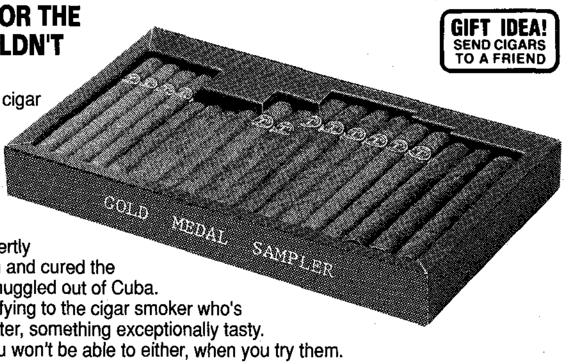
Free Enterprise Education Center
1080 West Sam Houston Parkway North
Suite 228
Houston, Texas 77043
Phone 713-984-1343

stating qualifications and salary history.

YOU DON'T NEED CASTRO'S PERMISSION TO ENJOY THE UNIQUE HAVANA FLAVOR!

CUBAN-SEED-LEAF CIGARS FOR THE MAN WHO THOUGHT HE COULDN'T AFFORD THEM!

GIFT IDEA! SEND CIGARS TO A FRIEND



I'll send them to you from Tampa, the fine cigar capital of the world. Sample the cigars in my new Gold Medal Sampler and enjoy a wonderful new smoking sensation. I'll include a generous sampling of vintage-leaf cut-filler cigars, all perfectly blended for mildness and flavor. These superb smokes are made with expertly blended Cuban-seed-leaf tobaccos grown and cured the old Cuban way in Honduras from seed smuggled out of Cuba. They're mild, flavorful and extremely satisfying to the cigar smoker who's looking for something new, something better, something exceptionally tasty. Experts can't tell them from Havanas. You won't be able to either, when you try them. Natural wrapper. If you're ready for a luxuriously enjoyable smoking experience, try them now.

MY OFFER TO CIGAR LOVERS

I'll send you postpaid a selection of 42 factory-fresh cigars — vintage-leaf cut-filler smokes. If these cigars aren't all you expected, return the unsmoked ones by United Parcel or Parcel Post within 30 days and I'll refund your money. No questions asked. Your delivered cost is only $10.90 for 42 factory-fresh, Cuban-seed-leaf cigars.

THOMPSON CIGAR CO. DEPT. BC24
5401 Hangar Court, Tampa, FL 33634-5391

O.K., TOM! Ship me the Gold Medal Sampler under your money-back guarantee for only $10.90.
☐ Check for $10.90 enclosed (Fla. residents add 6% sales tax)
☐ Charge $10.90 to my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover PLEASE PRINT
Credit Card No. ________ Exp. Date ________
Name ________
Street ________
City ________ State ________ Zip ________
OFFER GOOD IN U.S. ONLY

CREDIT CARD USERS SPEED DELIVERY BY CALLING TOLL-FREE 1-800-237-2559 • IN FLORIDA, CALL: 1-800-282-0646

Republican Choices

MR. BUCHANAN AND HIS FRIENDS

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

IMAGINE the headquarters of a Latin American Communist Party. Around the table are veteran revolutionaries—grizzled and plump now but still cherishing the memory of their fighting youth—when the news arrives that the North has fallen to a new band of rebels. They claim allegiance to the Party and are led by an old Party hand, but they also show worrying signs of deviationism and the cult of personality.

"I have seen them, comrades," reports one apparatchik nervously. "They are like we were in the pampas, young, tough, and so *certain* of everything. They say they support the Party, but when they speak of us they smile. A smile of pity, comrades. As if we were women."

Patrick J. Buchanan's success in New Hampshire provokes similar unease in the think tanks, foundations, magazines, and congressional offices of the counter-establishment that Ronald Reagan led to political dominance in the 1980s. On the morning after New Hampshire, many a conservative baron must have looked into the shaving mirror and detected a trace of mascara. Buchanan had dared and won; they had either watched from the sidelines or served as voluntary hostages in the Bush camp.

But there is more to this conservative alarm than gender nervousness. If the straw poll at the CPAC conference is correct, Mr. Buchanan has the allegiance of more than half the rank and file. He probably has an even higher proportion of younger conservatives on his side. Reports coming into Washington's conservative centers suggest his campaign is almost entirely staffed by their recent interns.

Movement notables thus face a tricky problem. How can they prevent Mr. Buchanan becoming the unchallenged caudillo of the movement without a civil war that would hand most conservative supporters over to him *and* leave them looking like country-club quislings? There are four courses of action to choose from:

1. *Supporting President Bush (the Wm. F. Buckley Jr. Option).* No conservative in his heart wants to endorse a President who has raised taxes and extended racial and sexual quotas. All conservatives, including Pat Buchanan, accept that they will end up doing so in order to keep a liberal Democrat out of the White House. (There is, incidentally, no other sort of Democrat these days.)

But timing is all. Declare for Mr. Bush too soon—and you fracture the unity of the conservative movement. Declare too late—and you risk being blamed for losing the general election. WFB argues that, the Buchanan demonstration having been made, to do it again would be both redundant and risky. This calculation will change only if the President himself begins to look unelectable—and Mr. Bush's resourcefulness in this respect should not be underestimated.

2. *Supporting a Third Candidate (the Harold Stassen Option).* Terrific idea. Who is he? This vacuum will be filled only if the President begins to look unelectable. (But see above.)

3. *Concentrating on the Issues (the Norman Podhoretz Option).* If you can support neither Mr. Bush nor Mr. Buchanan, you can still advance conservative ideas and criticize liberal ones. Such activity, of course, is not politics but social criticism. We may define a social critic as someone who surrenders any influence on the next election in order to influence the two or three elections after that. The drawbacks to this option, however, are that to exercise it effectively you need a) a magazine, b) something to say, and c) patience. It is thus a vocation to which few are called and even fewer chosen.

4. *Supporting Mr. Buchanan (the Richard M. Nixon Option).* Why Richard M. Nixon? In 1964 Mr. Nixon, almost alone of the Republican establishment and almost certainly against his private inclinations, strongly supported the election campaign of Barry Goldwater. It was, however, Mr. Nixon and not Senator Goldwater who became the next Republican President, helped into office by a united and much more conservative Republican Party. It is often more blessed to give support than to receive it.

BUT SUPPORT in this context means many things. Mr. Buchanan's current supporters will presumably endorse his entire program without a qualm. Other conservative leaders and institutions, who are as yet uncommitted, might give him qualified backing, with explicit reservations about such matters as trade policy. A third group, notably Jack Kemp and William Bennett, linked by ties of loyalty to President Bush, might *hint* that they regard Mr. Buchanan as a legitimate conservative candidate by debating his case seriously, conceding some of it, and publicly disavowing any "attack dog" campaigns against him. And all three groups must anyway seek to entice Mr. Buchanan into overcoming his pride and offering an apology for the remarks that, whether unfairly or not, have caused him to be labeled anti-Semitic.

Which option should conservatives embrace? My own preference would be to support Mr. Buchanan until a millisecond before he himself decides to support Mr. Bush, probably some time in early April. With luck, we might then maintain the unity and integrity of the conservative movement, avoid responsibility if Mr. Bush loses the general election, and transform Mr. Buchanan from this year's Wallace into one of several respectable conservative leaders for 1996, *primus inter pares* perhaps, but no more than that. All in all, the best available outcome in a lean year.

Unless, of course, the President begins to look seriously unelectable. □

Mr. O'Sullivan is NR*'s Editor.*

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

O Brave New Words!

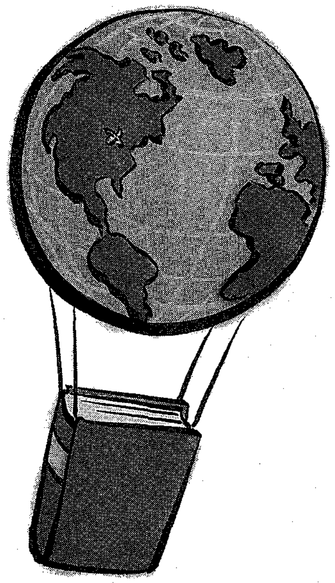
JOHN SIMON

WHERE IS IT written that a dictionary must be boring? Does the birth of a future lexicographer elicit a scene such as Dryden imagined at the birth of Shadwell: "The midwife laid her hand on his thick skull, / With the prophetic blessing: *Be thou dull!*"? Granted, compiling lists of words along with definitions and etymologies does not invite belly laughs. But as long as there is a chance to comment, speculate, and evaluate—as afforded by many dictionaries and lexicons—there is no reason for hiding the erudition, style, and wit of the editor. Provided, of course, that he or she has them.

There have been some entertaining lexicographers and stimulating dictionaries: Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, Sir Ernest Gowers's *Complete Plain Words*, Eric Partridge's many tomes, Wilson Follett's *Modern American Usage*, B. A. Phythian's *A Concise Dictionary of Correct English*, J. D. Cuddon's *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, Kenneth Hudson's *The Dictionary of Diseased English* leap to mind. There are others as well, but how few compared to the legions of earnest, ponderously pedantic works that seem more inviting to dust than to readers.

The Oxford Dictionary of New Words, edited by Sara Tulloch (Oxford, 322 pp., $19.95)

To be sure, certain types of dictionaries preclude levity or wit. Samuel Johnson himself managed it only very intermittently, and by the time we come to the mighty *Oxford English Dictionary*, whose purpose is to be the linguistic court of last resort, lightheartedness would be out of place. This is not the fault of the lexicographers: R. W. Burchfield, the editor of the magnificent but sedate *A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, can be very witty in his other books, but the mighty four-volume *Supplement* is not the place for smiles and idiosyncrasies. Conversely, a book that calls itself *The Dictionary of Diseased English* almost has to be amusing. So we find in it, under *mouthwatering*, a remark such as "Restaurant menus have a way of being more mouthwatering than the food itself, as many an eater has found to his cost."



Robert Prince

If your dictionary is one of "Correct English," wit is harder to introduce, yet Phythian does it effortlessly; perhaps having to grow up with a name like his makes you develop wit in self-defense. Take Phythian on *hopefully*: ". . . The increasingly common habit of using it in such contexts ["a context" would be better] as *Hopefully, the weather will remain fine* is absurd, because the weather is incapable of remaining fine while full of hope. . . ." Contrast this with the depressing descriptivism or permissiveness of *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage*, which after three and a half pages of waffling about *hopefully* concludes, "You can use it if you need it, or avoid it if you do not like it."

I give you all this as the briefest of brief introductions to the two main issues in lexicography: descriptiveness versus prescriptiveness, factuality versus individuality. Where exactly on the scale between strictness and latitudinarianism, between impersonality and flavorousness, does *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, compiled by Sara Tulloch, fit in? The *ODNW*, as I shall call it, even though it isn't a comfortable acronym, describes itself in two different ways. On the jacket, as "a language lover's guide to the origin and definition of over two thousand words and meanings that have become popular/current in the English language in the last decade"; on the title page, as "a popular guide to words in the news."

Now, these are hardly identical kettles of fish. A language lover's guide is something, if not for scholars, who may be too blasé to be lovers, at least for aficionados: educated, enlightened enthusiasts. But a popular guide is something for everyone, washed or unwashed, who wants some quick, simple information. Conforming to the latter notion, every entry in the *ODNW* sports a pictogram or "subject icon," whose purpose is to clue you in instantly about the type of word you're looking at. Thus if the icon following the bold-faced entry is a syringe, the word discussed pertains to the category Drugs. If it's a tree, the category is Environment. A graph is the icon for Business World; a spread-eagled homunculus denotes the Health & Fitness category. The sun represents Lifestyle & Leisure; a semiquaver stands for Music, but combined with another icon, a girl with a ponytail (the icon for Youth Culture), it signifies pop and rock music. A ballot box denotes Politics; two black faces in profile framing a white one are the symbol for People & Society; Science & Technology is marked by a computer; War & Weaponry gets an explosion.

These icons throw the *ODNW* tidily into the "popular guide" category. The scientifically oriented need not get involved with something having to do with music; persons interested in business can steer clear of environmental matters. Would it not be better to

---

Mr. Simon's columns on language for Esquire *and* More *are collected in* Paradigms Lost *(Penguin Paperbacks, 1981).*

make users of the book read through an entire entry, and so learn something about new words and trends in the language outside their area of specialization? Why not let them find out that *mousse* in its newest sense has nothing to do with sunbathing or cookery, but refers to "a frothy mixture of oil and sea-water" that develops "after an oil spill and . . . is very difficult to disperse"? And why be forewarned that *tonepad* has nothing to do with music and so fail to learn a bit of electronics? A dictionary should encourage broadening, not narrowness.

But what about the contents? Take a typical entry, *crystal healing*. We get the pronunciation, the status "noun," and the icon of the spread-eagled man. Then the main definition (with words in block capitals indicating cross references): "An ALTERNATIVE therapy popular in NEW AGE culture and based on the supposed healing power of pulsar crystals. Sometimes also called *crystal therapy* or *crystal treatment*." Further details appear in fine print (another encouragement to stop reading): "Formed by compounding: *healing by crystals*." Does anyone need this explanation? (But then, Miss Tulloch is never above explaining the obvious. In the entry *Sloane Ranger*, after pointing out that it is a conflation of the Lone Ranger and Sloane Square, both of which she identifies, she goes on: "The formation takes advantage of the shared sound . . . to make a blend of the two names.")

Further: "The idea of harnessing the healing power which [for *that*]—according to the *crystal healer*—emanates from some crystals is not new; its supporters claim that it goes back to the practices of the ancient Greeks. However, it only gained any real popularity with the rise of the New Age movement in California. By the end of the Eighties this idea had spread outside the U.S. to other English-speaking countries but was still regarded by many as being on the fringe of serious healing." By many? Surely by more than many, who would put it not on the fringe of serious healing but smack dab into the lunatic fringe. Yet this editorial permissiveness is belied by the skeptical illustrative quotations from the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Brisbane Sunday Mail* magazine.

There is not the slightest suggestion of Miss Tulloch's personality in all this. You may ask how a lexicographer obtrudes his personality without creating a sense of intrusion, and also why this presence is necessary or even desirable. Well, perhaps not necessary, because the meanings and histories of words speak for themselves. Still, there is something comforting for a dictionary user in feeling that at the other end there's a person talking to him, not a recorded message. For instance, in the entry *Imaginism* (not imagism) in J. A. Cuddon's *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* we read, "The movement, such as it was, was defunct by c. 1925." I find that "such as it was" immensely pleasing; it doesn't add anything to my knowledge of imaginism, but it makes me feel addressed by a human being.

NOW TAKE the *ODNW*'s very informative entry *lambada*, with its sun icon. It begins: "A fast and erotic dance of Brazilian origin, in which couples dance with their stomachs touching each other; also, the rhythmic music to which it is danced." Then, in fine print, "A Brazilian Portuguese word which [for *that*] literally means 'a beating, a lashing.'" There follows an interesting account of when, how, and why the lambada became internationally popular—of what has been called *lambadazation*. But nowhere is there a word or phrase with an individual savor, as when Cuddon writes in the entry *hysteron proteron*, "There is an agreeable example in *Much Ado about Nothing*. . . ." What an agreeable difference that one word *agreeable* makes.

The other problem with the *ODNW* is inclusion, or, rather, exclusion. One wonders, for example, why the only art that rates an icon, and thus frequent inclusion, is music. True, rock in its various forms and derivatives has become a major factor in the lives of the young (and a major irritation in those of the old). But have all the other arts become stagnant and not enriched their vocabularies? When Miss Tulloch has an entry such as *doc-*, *docu-*, which leads to *docudrama* and the like, the icon is the sun. Implication: theater, film, and the rest are part of leisure; music, however, is unsubsumable. Could this bespeak a limiting personal preference?

Otherwise, the *ODNW* has much to recommend it. The entries are generally packed with information that often comes as a total, welcome surprise. It is good to learn that *read my lips* "had even been the title of a rock-music album." Or to glean from that *lambada* entry that the craze may have been helped by the movie *Dirty Dancing* (1987). It is titillating to find in the entry *designer* mention of "such things as *designer stubble* (a carefully nurtured unshaven look) and *designer food*. . . ." Or to gather from the entry *mondo*, an adverb (icon: ponytail), that it was "the adoption of *mondo* [originating in the film title *Mondo Cane*] by the TURTLES that lead to its spreading outside North America, predominantly in expressions of approval like *mondo cool*." Again, in the entry *virus* (icon: computer), one is happy to find that "a number of software companies began to offer *virus detection* programs, and 'good' viruses which [again!] could guard against infection (this kind of virus was sometimes known as a *vigilante virus*)." Under *wimp*, listed as a political term, one learns that "in the Twenties *wimp* was Cambridge University undergraduates' slang for 'a young woman,'" and that the word then underwent a sex change. That tells us which sex is in the ascendant.

The illustrative quotations are not only well chosen, but also amazing in the wide variety of their sources from all over the English-speaking world. Under *couch potato*, for instance, we get an excerpt from the January 3, 1988, *Parade*, which quotes the popularizer of the term as saying, "We feel that watching TV is an indigenous American form of meditation. We call it 'transcendental vegetation.'" A quotation from the June 17, 1985, *Adweek* informs us, "Yuppies have come in for some revisionist thinking lately. The yup backlash is such that many people will no longer speak the 'Y word' and others are spurning pesto for pot pies." In another quotation, "the old Bimmer" turns out to be a favorite *yupmobile*, the BMW.

No one will want to read *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* from cover to cover in one or even several sittings. But it does cast the powerful spell common to all good lexicons—of teaching you without making you feel hectored, preached at, or bored. Indeed, if you ignore the subject icons and read whatever your eye alights on, you will discover new worlds in these new words. O brave new mondo, mondo bizarro, mondo cool! ☐

Demagoguery in Green

RONALD BAILEY

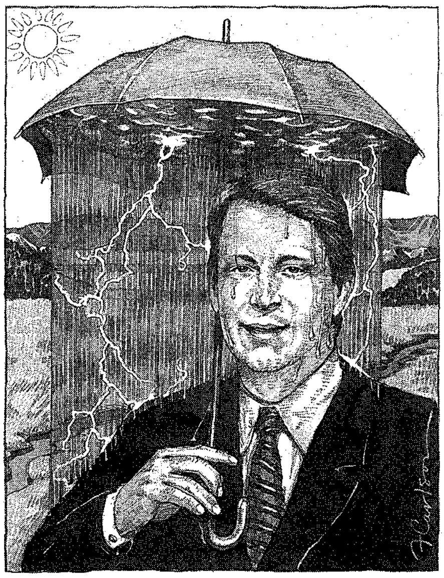
Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit, by Al Gore (Houghton Mifflin, 407 pp., $22.95)

SENATOR Albert Gore's new book artfully fuses New Age psychobabble with radical environmentalism into the quintessence of political correctness. Humanity, he warns, is treating swamps, jungles, and seas as though they were the "weakest and most vulnerable members of [a] dysfunctional family." Our "dysfunctional civilization" is "addicted to the consumption of the earth itself" and is "in denial" over the harm its "addiction" is causing. Businessmen, intellectuals, and politicians are "enablers" who abet our "addictive behavior." Like recovering addicts who turn to Naranon, Gore apparently thinks humanity ought to seek its own collective 12-step recovery program. We could call it "Terranon."

While Gore's angle is new, the idea is not. H. L. Mencken observed that "the whole aim of practical politics is to keep the populace alarmed (and hence clamorous to be led to safety) by menacing it with an endless series of hobgoblins, all of them imaginary." Here, Gore peddles every doomsday prediction made by apocalyptic environmentalism—overpopulation, topsoil erosion, scarcity of fresh water, deforestation, thinning ozone, and, of course, global warming.

Set aside global warming for the moment and look at the other hobgoblins. Overpopulation and famine? The billions of deaths from famine predicted for the 1970s and 1980s by Gore's heroes, Paul Ehrlich and Lester Brown, never happened. Food production easily outpaced population growth since the 1950s. Soil scientist Pierre Crosson from Resources for the Future calculates that even without technological improvements, U.S. crop yields would drop at most 2 per cent over the next century because of soil erosion. Of course, improvements will be made, and used by farmers worldwide. Fresh water? The chief problem is misallocation because of enormous government subsidies and a lack of clear property rights. Forests? U.S. forests expanded from 600 million acres in 1920 to 728 million acres today.

Worries about the ozone layer, which screens out harmful ultraviolet radiation (UV) are also overdone. The Antarctic "ozone hole" occurs where no one lives, has not significantly harmed the Antarctic ecosystem, and will not engulf the planet. In the 1960s the ozone layer "thickened" by 5 per cent over the United States. The "thinning" in the 1980s just about brings ozone down to earlier levels. How dangerous is a thinner layer? We put ourselves at greater risk of developing non-melanoma skin cancer simply by moving from New York to Washington, D.C., since UV increases as one travels south. Finally, the chemicals thought to be eroding the ozone layer have been banned and will no longer be produced after 1995.



Fred Carlson

Senator Gore flatly declares that global warming "is the most serious threat we have ever faced." Computer models predict the globe's average temperature will increase by 2° to 9° F. because of higher levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide liberated by burning fossil fuels. Earth's surface is warmed by the "greenhouse effect," in which carbon dioxide traps heat before it is reflected back into space.

But what is the evidence? Climate records, though spotty, do indicate that Earth has warmed by less than 1° F. over the last century. In his book, Gore implies that 98 per cent of atmospheric scientists agree that catastrophic greenhouse warming has begun. However, a recent Gallup poll conducted for the Institute for Science, Technology, and Media found that of those scientists actively involved in global climate research, 53 per cent do not believe human-induced global warming has occurred and 30 per cent don't know, leaving only 17 per cent who think human-induced global warming occurred—far short of 98 per cent.

How does the senator answer skeptics? In *Time*'s "Planet of the Year" issue, he complained that "those who, for the purpose of maintaining balance in the debate [over global warming], adopt the contrarian view that there is significant uncertainty about whether it's real are hurting our ability to respond." Extending the Chicken Little logic, Gore now takes the press to task for its coverage of greenhouse skeptics because it "undermines the effort to build a solid base of public support for the difficult actions we must soon take." Simply put: shut up and get with the program.

And what a program: He advocates creating a UN "Stewardship Council," modeled on the Security Council. He calls for a "global Marshall Plan" to halt the impending holocaust, redistributing wealth and technology from the industrialized world to the developing world. For example, Gore would slow economic and population growth and reduce CO_2 emissions by levying a worldwide "carbon tax" on fossil fuels. Now, it would take a 60 per cent cut in CO_2 emissions to stabilize greenhouse gases at 1990 levels. Yale University economist William Nordhaus calculates that lowering CO_2 emissions by 50 per cent would cost $200 billion annually.

Gore's extremism, culminating in a demand that we "change the very foundation of our civilization," brings to mind what Richard Hofstadter termed the "paranoid style." Gore too "traffics in the birth and death of whole worlds, whole political orders, whole systems of human values. . . . Time is forever just running out."

But is time running out?

University of Illinois climate modeler Michael Schlesinger and his colleague Xingjian Jiang recently calculated that "the penalty is small for a ten-year delay in initiating the transi-

Mr. Bailey, currently at the Cato Institute, is writing a book on apocalyptic environmentalism for St. Martin's Press.

tion to a regime in which greenhouse-gas emissions are reduced." In other words, we have at least a decade to study the problem without making it substantially worse.

The rush is a matter of politics, not science. Gore credits Roger Revelle, the former director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography who rekindled interest in the greenhouse theory in the 1950s, as his mentor on the subject. Revelle co-authored a recent article that concluded: *"The scientific base for a greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time* [emphasis in original]."

Even if the climate did warm significantly, it would not spell disaster for humanity. We can easily adapt to any climate changes likely to occur over the next century, according to the Climate Change Adaptation Panel of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS). Human beings thrive in climates ranging from the Sahara to Sarawak, from the Amazon to Alaska. The NAS points out that the change in temperatures predicted by the disaster theorists is "much smaller than that from day to night, from summer to winter, or between airports that one might leave and reach in an hour." The NAS also rejected predictions that climate change is apt to cause the catastrophic collapse of natural ecosystems or agriculture.

In other words, while environmental problems do exist, the end of the world is not at hand. With *Earth in the Balance*, Gore has joined the ranks of the end-of-the-second-millennium low-budget prophets. The real cause for concern is that such a demagogue writes legislation, influences our government's policy, and is widely discussed as a moderate and therefore one of the Democrats most likely to become President someday. □

Fresh Air?

RICHARD BROOKHISER

THOMAS Pangle's *The Ennobling of Democracy* is an academic's book, by an academic who cares passionately about his subject and who has suffered for his concerns. A dozen years ago Pangle, who now teaches at the University of Toronto, was extruded from the political science department of Yale, even though he was one of Yale's most popular lecturers, for the simple reason that he was a follower of Leo Strauss. "There are two kinds of people who should never be on a faculty: Leninists and Straussians," remarked one of Pangle's soon-to-be-ex-colleagues at the time (it's surprising the critic included Leninists on his Index of Prohibited Teachers).

The Ennobling of Democracy, by Thomas L. Pangle (Johns Hopkins University Press, 240 pp., $25.95)

If that Yalie read Straussians today, perhaps he would have a better opinion of them. One of the main raps against Straussians has been the almost kabbalistic focus of their reading on half a dozen political philosophers—Plato, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Marx, and Nietzsche—with a few exegetes and elaborators—Aristotle, Locke—thrown in. Straussians maintained that only these men were acute enough to lead us out of the cave of cultural presuppositions in which most of us spend our lives. Yet the Straussians' endless recycling of their greatest hits too often yielded an odor of damp and bat guano all its own.

In the last few years, however, Allan Bloom has written about Heidegger and Tocqueville. Francis Fukuyama has given us Hegel and his whimsical French disciple Alexandre Kojève. In *The Ennobling of Democracy*, Pangle has made the most additions to his library, surveying deconstructionists, Vaclav Havel, John Paul II, and even Benjamin Franklin. It is good to see the Straussians getting out and about.

The announced goal of Pangle's extended reading is to rediscover the arguments for "liberal constitutionalism" (by which he means, not the thought of Anthony Lewis, but the world the Founders made), and to bolster those arguments where necessary with help from outside the liberal tradition. That the liberal tradition needs bolstering he is convinced, though not because its contemporary academic critics are especially intelligent or persuasive. Pangle begins by warming up on deconstructionism, but he hardly raises a sweat. Deconstructionism takes from Heidegger and Nietzsche a belief in the arbitrariness of all values, while passing over their insistence that some values must be willfully, even brutally, affirmed. What we get as a result are lightweights like Richard Rorty, who simultaneously endorse "the values of the Enlightenment" while "cut[ing] the links which connect those values with . . . Nature."

While the intellectuals of Paris and points west talked about structures of oppression inherent in language, the intellectuals of Prague were overthrowing oppressors. Pangle half hopes that Eastern Europe's experience may revive our seriousness. But he also fears that the new Europe may become "a Swedish California stretching from the Urals to the Atlantic." In the end, Americans have no alternative but to re-examine their own roots.

Pangle's re-examination forms the core of the book. He revisits the expected philosophers: Locke, the authors of *The Federalist Papers*, and Montesquieu, who was in many ways the French mediator between them. He also pays tribute to the Christian tradition of Natural Law. Straussians typically handle theology with tongs, unless they can portray it as a mask for secret skepticism. Laying the tongs aside, Pangle declares that "the substantial differences between classical political philosophy and biblical thought were not so great as to prevent . . . a variety of remarkably effective and convincing syntheses in each of the great religious dispensations." Since the dispensation of the majority of Americans has been Christian, Pangle honors the Natural Law tradition of Thomas Aquinas, which flowed into English Protestantism through Richard Hooker and watered Americans at least as recently as Martin Luther King Jr.

The Founders and their immediate successors did not expect their synthesis to clatter on like a perpetual-motion machine. They felt that each new generation of Americans would have to be educated to uphold it. Pangle cites chapter and verse from

---

Mr. Brookhiser's most recent book is The Way of the WASP.

the writings of Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Noah Webster, who wrote that every American child "as soon as he opens his lips . . . should lisp the praise of liberty." Such knowledge, and only such knowledge, "will guard our institutions." Pangle proposes a universal civic education, supplemented, for the best students at the highest levels, with instruction in Socratic philosophy, which "provides us with awareness of the genuine strengths of our principles, precisely by forcing us to deal with the most telling actual and potential challenges" to them.

Summarized in this fashion, Pangle's thesis is not unlike William Bennett's speeches at the Department of Education, or Pat Buchanan's warnings against the "landfill of multiculturalism" in New Hampshire. But it is presented with a breadth that Cabinet secretaries and candidates don't have time for.

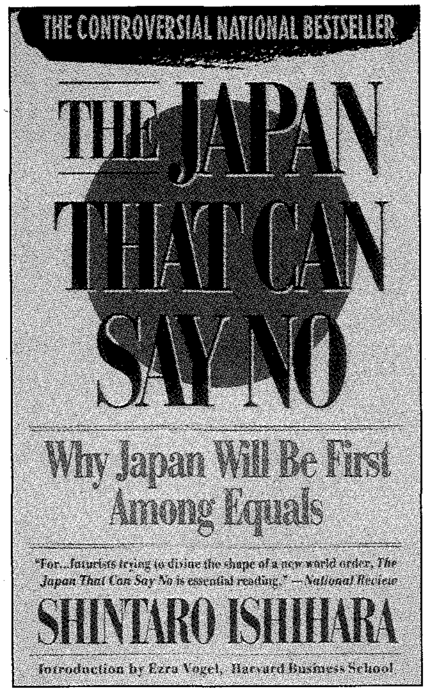
Two doubts trouble me. One is a lingering suspicion of the Straussian world view, which any fundamental egalitarian must feel. The egalitarian believes that all men, smart or stupid, fine or coarse, good or evil, share similar impulses, temptations, and hopes. Pangle really seems to believe (or so his rapturous descriptions of Socratic philosophy indicate) that a band of brothers, by intense meditation on the great questions, can bid good-bye to all that and rise to some higher level. I don't know whether this is creepy or funny, but it sure sounds wrong.

On a more practical level, some Americans will resist Pangle's educational prescriptions on the grounds that the game is too far gone. Pangle acknowledges this. "I foresee a powerful objection, coming especially from thoughtful conservatives. . . . Will not history be taught in such a way as to debunk or even defame the Founders? . . . Will not the religious traditions of America be treated as the last gasp of benighted ages and darkened minds?" Plenty of conservatives think just that, which is why they yank their kids from school and give them McGuffey's Readers at home.

But they should acknowledge in turn that Pangle's hope is the hope of the first Americans, and they must respect an academic who is both sufficiently contrary (to the spirit of his age) and pious (to the spirit of America) to make the case for it. □

"A VERBAL PEARL HARBOR."

—NEW YORK NEWSDAY


THE CONTROVERSIAL NATIONAL BESTSELLER
THE JAPAN THAT CAN SAY NO
Why Japan Will Be First Among Equals
"For...futurists trying to divine the shape of a new world order, The Japan That Can Say No is essential reading." —National Review
SHINTARO ISHIHARA
Introduction by Ezra Vogel, Harvard Business School

"A powerful polemic ....[Ishihara] seems to have his finger on the pulse of Japanese public opinion.... A powerful reminder that neither the U.S. nor Japan can take its relationship for granted." —*CHICAGO TRIBUNE*

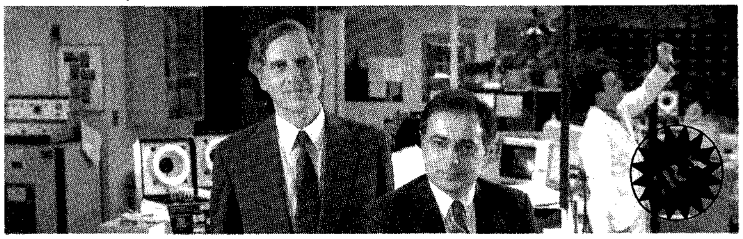
"Those who want to hear what the Japanese say among themselves should read this book."

—*USA TODAY*

A TOUCHSTONE BOOK
A Division of Simon & Schuster
A Paramount Communications Company

The Kaufmann Fund

A NO-LOAD SMALL COMPANY GROWTH FUND



Portfolio Co-managers Hans Utsch and Lawrence Auriana combine over 50 years experience as analysts, money managers and venture capitalists.

#1 GROWTH FUND
Since Market Peak August 25, 1987 and
Since Market Low Dec. 4, 1987 to September 30, 1991.*

The Kaufmann Fund is dedicated to the objective of capital appreciation through investment in small growth companies just beyond the venture stage that have established profitability and have substantial growth prospects. These companies have strong positions in the markets they serve, as a result of proprietary technology or know-how.

Please read the Prospectus before investing. The performance cited represents past performance; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost.

For a prospectus please CALL

1-800-321-9042

*Per Investor's Daily

**Per Lipper Analytical Services

KAUFMANN FUND • 17 BATTERY PLACE • SUITE 2624 • NEW YORK, NY 10004

Name__________ City/State/Zip__________

Address__________ Phone__________

She Done Her Wrong

J. O. TATE

Scarlett: The Sequel to Margaret Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind," by Alexandra Ripley (Warner Books, 823 pp., $24.95)

Southern Daughter: The Life of Margaret Mitchell, by Darden Asbury Pryon (Oxford, 533 pp., $24.95)

GONE *with the Wind* doesn't have much of a reputation these days, though it still sells steadily. It was never approved by the intellectuals; its politics have long been viewed as incorrect; and besides, the movie version stole—while muting—much of its thunder. Yet the enduring presence of the book implies something about its undeniable strength.

But now the world's best-seller lists register the coup of the Mitchell estate, which in commissioning a sequel packaged a mega-bucks smash that has caused speculation about a prequel and a sequel to the sequel. It's enough to shake one's faith in the people's right to choose, the free market, and all that.

What's the fuss about, anyway? Alexandra Ripley, who word-processed this sequel, has only demonstrated the power of the original, for the result of her efforts is a *tour de faiblesse* of ineptitude, incoherence, and unimaginative droning. Margaret Mitchell, by contrast, has never looked so good. Miss Ripley's bodacious bodice rip-off actually contains some literal bodice-ripping, but there's a strange lack of energy, even after all the soft corn and soft porn.

> "Now I'm going to cut the laces on your corset, Scarlett [because we are nearly drowned beneath a capsized sloop during a storm]. You can't breathe easily in that cage. Just hold still so I don't cut your skin." There was an embarrassing intimacy in the movement of his hands under the sweater, tearing open her basque and her shirtwaist. It had been years since he had last put his hands on her body.

What is missing from Miss Ripley's two-and-a-half-pound doorstop, besides brains, heart, and guts, is any historical context, any psychological insight, any irony or tension. No amount of breast-heaving can compensate for the lack of something like this, from the original:

> Lying in the pitiless sun, shoulder to shoulder, head to feet, were hundreds of wounded men, lining the tracks, the sidewalks, stretched out in endless rows under the car shed. Some lay stiff and still but many writhed under the hot sun, moaning. Everywhere, swarms of flies hovered over the men, crawling and buzzing in their faces, everywhere was blood, dirty bandages, groans, screamed curses of pain as stretcher bearers lifted men. The smell of sweat, of blood, of unwashed bodies, of excrement rose up in the waves of blistering heat until the fetid stench almost nauseated her.
>
> . . . She shrank back, clapping her hand to her mouth feeling that she was going to vomit. She couldn't go on.

How's that for moonlight and magnolias? Scarlett's experience of the soldiers' suffering (besides anticipating my own reaction to Miss Ripley's *Scarlett*) is a complex denial of that reality, for she wants to take Dr. Meade away from his plain duty so he can deliver Melanie's baby. And the female struggle of Melanie and Scarlett and Prissy with the trauma of birth is in deliberate and maximum structural contrast with the male experience of war.

Scarlett has none of the epic power of *Gone with the Wind*—neither the potency of obsessive love nor the enveloping action of war, destruction, and rebirth. Miss Mitchell's Scarlett O'Hara was christened on the same day as Atlanta: she is a symbol of that city's rise from the ashes as it (and she) mimicked the values and behavior of those who had destroyed it. She can no more be lifted from that context than Captain Ahab could be rehabilitated as an environmental lobbyist.

No, anyone interested in Scarlett ought to be reading Professor Pryon's biography of her creator instead. Actually, Peggy Mitchell is even more interesting than Scarlett—she was much more admirable, even more conflicted, and at least as brave.

Pryon's *Southern Daughter* easily eclipses the other books on Miss Mitchell—it is the most elaborate and

---

Mr. Tate teaches English literature at Dowling College in Oakdale, N.Y.

A Great Tradition
Faithfully Preserved
In The Nation's Capital

A PERSONAL PLEDGE

As the owner of The Madison Hotel, I am determined to maintain the highest standards observed in the great hotels and mansions throughout the world.

Marshall B. Coyne
Proprietor

THE MADISON℠
Washington's Correct Address®
15th & M Streets, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20005
(202)862-1600
Toll-free Reservations: (800)424-8577 Telex: 64245

SRS HOTELS STEIGENBERGER RESERVATION SERVICE
800-223-5652

penetrating treatment of the woman and her novel that we are likely to have. Pryon pushes hard, from the inside and the outside, to clarify Margaret Mitchell's tense existence. Her deeply ambivalent clash with her strong mother, never resolved, led both to her tomboyish childhood and to her *Grande Dame* behavior during and after the Second World War. Her inner conflicts drove her to act both as a flirtatious flapper and as a tough feminist in the man's world of journalism. Peggy Mitchell was a strong person who was always sick, and whose happy second marriage was to a man who was chronically ill.

But Pryon's explorations are social and aesthetic as well as psychological. No one has ever shown so clearly just why and how *Gone with the Wind* was written not as a plantation novel but as a refutation of cozy clichés. Nor has anyone else to my knowledge ever demonstrated so vividly what Pryon calls Scarlett O'Hara's "perversion"—she is a bad daughter, a dreadful mother, and a psychically twisted wife to three different men she does not love. Pryon's drawing of the link between Miss Mitchell's mother and Rhett Butler is a convincing insight that perhaps explains something of the power of *Gone with the Wind.*

And I would add that though Pryon's is not a perfect book—too many misprints, too many repetitions of the word "gender"—his work is a moving recreation of the author's ordeals, and of her environment. Margaret Mitchell's father was co-founder and president of the Atlanta Historical Society; she herself saw grizzled old rebels marching on April 26, Confederate Memorial Day. Though there is no false sentiment about the Lost Cause in *Gone with the Wind*, there is regional memory, even national history:

> Why, four months ago Dalton, Resaca, Kennesaw Mountain had been to her only names of places on the railroad. Now they were battles, battles desperately, vainly fought as Johnston fell back towards Atlanta. And now, Peachtree Creek, Decatur, Ezra Church, and Utoy Creek were no longer pleasant names of pleasant places. . . . And the lazy streams were redder now than ever Georgia clay could make them. Peachtree Creek was crimson, so they said, after the Yankees crossed it.

The historical dimension is the armature of *Gone with the Wind*; without it, the personal emotions fade. In *Scarlett*, there's nothing at stake, nor is there, come to think of it, any writing either. Miss Ripley's "book" is a non-event and a waste-disposal problem, no more—but cheer up, there's always next time. There's a world of readers—make that *consumers*—waiting with credit cards poised to see Belle Watling conquer London society, etc., all wrapped up with international tie-ins and a TV mini-series. ☐

ART

Dislocations at the Modern

JAMES GARDNER

ROLLER-COASTERS and funhouses do not fall within the ordinary jurisdiction of the art critic. But as regards "Dislocations," a show of seven installations at the Museum of Modern Art, either the critic talks about roller-coasters and funhouses, or he doesn't talk about "Dislocations."

Like roller-coasters, these installations were great fun. They had noise. They had movement. They had flashing lights and booming videos and simulated landscapes approaching virtual reality. Unlike roller-coasters, however, they were in deadly earnest. The catalogue, by Robert Storr, the new Curator of Painting and Sculpture, began somewhat inauspiciously with this sullenly existential query: "Where are we?" Even if Storr knows the answer to that one, you can be sure he has no intention of telling you. He wants you to question: it might do you some good, for a change. "There are plenty of reasons to wonder [where we are]," he continues. "And even more, perhaps, to ask why we don't wonder more often. . . . Most of the time we would just as soon pretend that we are sure of our surroundings, and, so, sure of ourselves and who we are. Rather that than pose the simple

---

Mr. Gardner writes frequently about art for NR *and* Art & Auction.

UP TO 80% OFF
WALLCOVERINGS
ANY BOOK

ALL WALLPAPER
ANY BOOK SEEN ANYWHERE

- All 1st Quality
- Instant Price Quotes
- Free Freight

UP TO 80% OFF
WINDOW BLINDS
ALL MAJOR BRANDS

ALL STYLES
- Verticals
- Pleated Shades
- Horizontals
- Roller Shades
- Mini-Micro
- Real Wood
- Mini Blinds

NO UPS CHARGES

NO SALES TAX (Except MI)
SAME DAY PROCESSING
ALL 1ST QUALITY
VISA AND MASTERCARD ACCEPTED
DEAL DIRECT AND SAVE
KNOWN FOR LOWEST PRICES

SHOP AT YOUR LOCAL STORE AND CALL FOR PRICE

1 800 521-0650

POST WALLCOVERING DISTRIBUTORS, INC.
HOURS: MON.- FRI. 9-8:00 SAT. 9-6:00 E.S.T.
FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE – FAX 313 338-7943

questions that might abruptly shatter the illusion of dependable normalcy."

Here, however, are three questions you weren't supposed to ask: "Why are we here at the exhibition? What, if anything, does all this mean? Is it my imagination, or are these essentially the same questions the art world has been asking, without answering, for the past generation?"

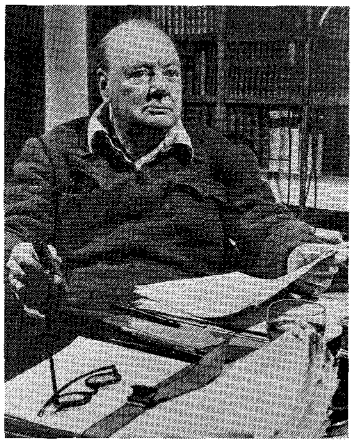
"Dislocations" is the first exhibition organized at the Modern by Robert Storr. He was taken on with one idea in mind: to rescue the Modern from the worst of all curses, curatorial conservatism. Under the czardom of the recently retired William Rubin, the museum had been the bastion of High Modernist Greats, served up in a formalist mode that had not substantially changed in fifty years. If the charismatic Kirk Varnedoe was called in to spiff up the Museum's approach to classic modernism, Storr, coming from SoHo, was to turn the Modern into a showcase of contemporary art. "Dislocations" is the result. Virtually in one go, MOMA has lurched out of the late Sixties and into the mid Eighties. The seven artists featured appear to have been chosen in as studiously democratic a spirit as you could want. There were three women: Adrian Piper (American), Sophie Calle (French), and Louise Bourgeois (Franco-American). Of the four men, David Hammon's work, like Miss Piper's, reflects his experience as a black American; Ilya Kabakov is a Russian émigré; and finally Bruce Nauman and Chris Burden are just white.

There is an almost willful variety in these works. Yet similarities do emerge. Though Chris Burden may be best known for his performance pieces from the Seventies, in which, among other things, he was shot in the arm with real bullets, electrocuted, and nailed to the back of a Volkswagen, he has latterly become one of our more prominent political artists. He is represented in "Dislocations" by *The Other Vietnam Memorial*, which amounts to a massive book rising from floor to ceiling, whose nine huge leaves of steel and copper are etched with the names of three million Vietnamese who died in the war. As in so much of Burden's art, there is an almost obsessive, morbid pertinacity to the tens of millions of tiny letters swarming across the metallic surface.

A similar compulsiveness inspires Adrian Piper's *What it's like / What it is*. The artist has constructed a large cubic room out of timber; along its immaculately clinical white walls are levels where you can sit. In the center, on a raised television monitor, the talking head of a black man growls over and over: "I'm not smelly. I'm not dirty. I'm not pushy." You've got to admire Miss Piper for unerringly pulling all the right levers: white guilt, black oppression, post-modern alienation (e.g., white walls), not to mention video-culture's totalitarian domination of thought, which of course is bad. In a similar vein, Bruce Nauman's *Anthro/Socio* occupies a darkened room illuminated only by a half-dozen monitors projecting the thick-set, shaved head of German performance artist Rinde Eckert. Because he is shouting with almost lunatic intensity, it takes time and close attention before you can make out what he is saying: "Feed me. Eat me. Help me. Hurt me." If these three works, different as they are, amount to a new movement, and if they are in the market for a catchy name like Cubism or Dadaism, may I suggest Autism?

Just in case you had hoped that the newly liberated Russians were about to flood our markets with sober masterpieces of high art, it will be chastening to consider Ilya Kabakov, who proves that the Slavs can be every bit as imbecilic as our boys. Situated in the basement of the Modern, *The Bridge* was a tribute to entropy and internal corruption. One passed through a narrow hallway, dimly lit by a single bulb coated with glutinous muck, into a darkened chamber. The wooden bridge that had been thrown across it quivered and shook with each footfall. Chairs and tables were strewn everywhere, with all the apparent premeditation of a bar brawl. According to a note by the artist, this house of horrors reconstructed a room in which dissident Soviet artists had planned a secret exhibition of vanguardist art, before it was ransacked by the authorities. One could not help wondering whether there were not some better use to which Kabokov could put his new-found freedom.

Like all fun-houses, "Dislocations" had its entertainment value, provided you didn't take the show as seriously as its artists or curator intended. And if seven dollars, the price of admission, seems steep for such entertainments,



© 1992 All-World Vintage Photos, Palm Beach, FL

now available!

Wartime Speeches of
Winston Churchill

Historic recordings of his world broadcasts and speeches, 1939-1945
Powerful and inspiring

2 cassette set $16.00 + 3.50 s/h
Visa, MC, Amex accepted
order toll-free 800.370 1066

DAVIS & CO.
P.O. Box 3816
Portland, Maine 04104
207.780 1607

satisfaction guaranteed

Quo Vadis?
Where are you going?

Why not to NEW ENGLAND for a two-week HIGH-SCHOOL SUMMER PROGRAM at The Thomas More College of Liberal Arts?

Read, discuss, and write about the works of the best minds of the West. Learn your American heritage — get your poetic, philosophic, political, and theological bearings — come to understand...where *you* are going.

July 14-27 or July 28-Aug 10.
Call 603-880-8308 or write

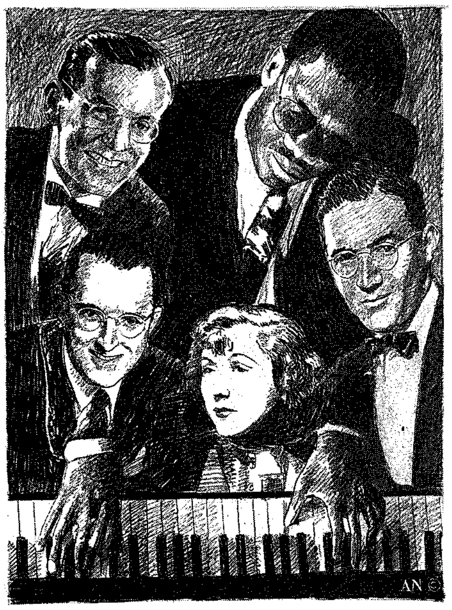
THE THOMAS MORE
COLLEGIATE SUMMER PROGRAM
6c Manchester St., Merrimack, NH 03054

consider that it is not every amusement park that will also throw in, for no extra charge, about a hundred of the greatest masterpieces ever to proceed from the hand or the mind of man. □

SOUND ON DISC

Get Hep!

RALPH DE TOLEDANO



Alan Nahigian

THE COMPACT disc—which gives you the music without grunt, scratch, or surface noise—has inspired the record companies to reissue much that is in the great store of classic jazz. The economics of the business make this possible, for these masterpieces can be transferred to CD cheaply, and do not add to the nut the cost of studio, technicians, etc. The result has been that we now have in one handy package all of the great records cut by Jelly Roll Morton for the old Victor company, the entire Bessie Smith output for the Columbia label, yards of Louis Armstrong, and much of Duke Ellington's prodigious output—though no one has seen fit to give us that rare two-sided shellac of the Duke solo "Reminiscing in Tempo." And the classic jazz CDs keep coming, bless them, to wit:

■ *The Jazz Singers: Vocals by the Great Instrumentalists* (BMG/Bluebird 3136-2-RB). Here with their own orchestras, or backed by even better all-star sidemen, you will find some of the greatest jazz musicians putting aside their instruments to demonstrate that jazz singing is not a matter of platinum pipes but of phrasing and feeling. Louis Armstrong and Jelly Roll were among the greatest of these sometime vocalists, and they are represented in this album. But you will also find Bunny Berigan's historic "I Can't Get Started," Jack Teagarden's "St. James Infirmary," the guitarist Teddy Bunn's "If You See Me Comin'," made for the great Hugues Panassié date, and others doing and undoing the jazz standards.

■ *The Jazz Age: New York in the Twenties* (BMG/Bluebird 3136-2-RB). This album will appeal to those who resent the fact that many early white jazz musicians were thrust aside in favor of the usually superior black creators. Four "white jazz" bands, three of them pick-up groups, are heard here: Red Nichols, Ben Pollack, Phil Napoleon, and Joe Venuti & Eddie Lang. In the period before the swing era, Pollack had one of the few white bands which played both the hotel ballroom music and, when it had a chance, the real jazz. He did not record often, but he had as sidemen from time to time the likes of Benny Goodman, Jimmy McPartland, Glenn Miller, and Bud Freeman. The Venuti–Lang sides show the superb guitar voicings of Lang and Venuti doing his damnedest to make the fiddle a jazz instrument. This is all good listening but also belongs in your collection for its historical placement.

■ *Lee Wiley: As Time Goes By* (BMG/Bluebird 31-38-2-RB). Lee Wiley was one of the very fine and very appealing jazz singers, with a reedy and evocative voice and a deep feeling for jazz content and phrasing. Her best recordings—she was not often in the studios—were made with her husband, Jess Stacy, and other fine New York jazz musicians. But even the sides she cut with the too sumptuous "easy listening" orchestras have that quality which imperatively demands that they

(Continues on page 53)

Mr. Toledano, a longtime NR *contributor, is a syndicated columnist and author of 19 books.*

AUDIO BOOKS

PARLIAMENT OF WHORES
P.J. O'ROURKE

- On Cassettes
- Unabridged Recordings
- Purchase or Rent
- Over 400 Titles
- Professionally Narrated

BLACKSTONE AUDIO BOOKS
P.O. Box 969 Ashland, OR 97520

For a **FREE** Catalogue Call:

1-800-729-2665

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Serving Lunch & Dinner
A Perfect Place for Parties
207 East 34th Street, New York
(212) 889-3239

Escape rows of writing desks, slavish notetaking, lecture classes altogether. Meet 15 serious minds around a table. Probe a real question, read a real book. Wonder. Argue. Discover. We call it Liberal Education. We'd like to talk to you about it.

Call toll free:
1-800-634-9797

From Canada,
call collect:
(805) 525-4417

Or write:
Thomas J. Susanka, Director of Admissions
Box 105
THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
10000 N. Ojai Rd., Santa Paula, CA 93060

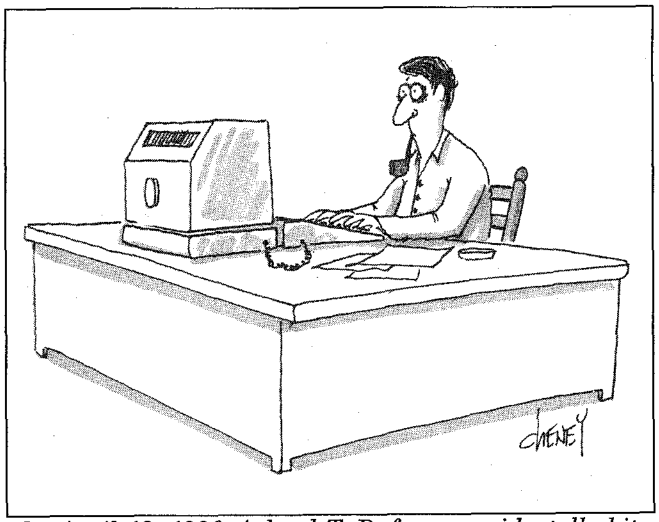
TOWN CRIER

New Foundation. It could be the most important conservative team-up since Reagan met Thatcher: the powerful, Washington-based Heritage Foundation has joined with NATIONAL REVIEW to operate Town Hall. With the added muscle from Heritage and a phalanx of well-connected scholars and policy experts, the new cooperative effort will expand both Town Hall's membership and its influence.

Hence, we announce the official and simplified new moniker of America's first and only interactive conservative meeting place: Town Hall.

Heritage Educational Policy Manager Jeanne Allen has been appointed Town Hall Executive Director, while Jeanne Meyer will continue as Project Director.

DC News They Miss, We Print. Town Hall's Washington Report continues to carry that Inside-the-Beltway news. Take one WR posting (Feb. 2) titled "RNC Puts Down Effort to Oust Darman, Brady." It recaps an article from that morning's *Washington Times* on Republican National Committee apparatchiks moving to "put down a grassroots rebellion" aiming "to have those responsible for giving lousy economic advice to the President"—e.g., OMB Director Dick Darman and Treasury Secretary Nick Brady—fired.



Thomas Cheney

On April 12, 1986, Arland T. Dufresne accidentally hits the "Global Delete" button while typing the last paragraph of his 1,026-page novel.

It's just the kind of story that heartland conservatives want to know about, which is often reason enough to make it the kind of story that liberal local editors and TV news stations won't carry.

Sobran Attax. *NR* Critic-at-Large Joe Sobran's first foray into the Town Hall Meeting Place was a cutting essay (message #6175) on the conservative need for "a reverse Marxism to undo the statist revolution of the past half-century." Joe tees off on the Federal Government's $1.5-trillion budget and the "unlimited exercise of the taxing power."

That brought a flood of Meeting Place responses. Among them was this gem (message #6243) from Town Hall member Brenda Becker (Brooklyn, N.Y.): "The Great Society, *c'est nous.* The metaphor for New York, taxes, and the whole damn thing . . . is a carousel." She complains that "somebody has to pay for and run the carousel; that's the middle class. Only we're never, ever allowed to take a ride; in fact, we get kicked in the teeth every so often by the flying horses."

More Meeting Place. Town Hall Member David Schumann (Sunnyvale, Calif.) touched off an informative and funny exchange on "Global Glopism" by asking (message #6310), "Did anyone else catch the clip on ABC news tonight about something called the Global Warming Leadership Conference? Governor Moonbeam was the only member of the mousepack who actually attended. Sounded like his old self." Other liberal politicians there "DEMagogued" that "a global-warming trend is going on," wrote Schumann, despite a recent National Oceanographic and AA study that "comes to just the opposite conclusion. But the facts *never* get in Dem politicians' way. If [Bush] had *any* gumption he'd haul out a bunch of *real* scientists to poke fun of these jerks."

That stinger prompted over twenty Meeting Place responses within four days, most of them loaded with reams of evidence (cited and documented, naturally) pooh-poohing "global warming." Among them was a stream of data from Oleg Panczenko (Ossining, N.Y.), and this from Ed Weinmann (Huntington, N.Y.; #6443; Feb. 3): "In the middle of Rush Limbaugh's show today, WABC radio news sounded an alarm bell about chlorine monoxide supposedly being found in alarmingly high concentrations in the air over Maine, of all places. Chlorine monoxide is produced by the breakdown of chlorofluorocarbons, and attacks ozone, the good guy. I myself think it is the residue from some of [Maine Democratic Senator George] Mitchell's speeches."

Live from CPAC. Town Hall broadcast live from the 19th annual CPAC in Washington (February 20–22). Pat Buchanan addressed the conservative confab on the first day; Vice President Dan Quayle spoke the following evening; Jack Kemp, Newt Gingrich, Robert Bork, Herb London, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and others also spoke; Bob Novak debated Sam Donaldson; *NR*'s Executive Editor Geoffrey Morris reported from the conference as it was going on. The next best thing to being there.

By the way, inform the conservative community of your organization's event—from a local chapter meeting to an annual national convention—for free! Just fax the facts (time, date, sponsor, etc.) to Town Hall's Jeanne Meyer at 212-696-0309, or mail them to her at *NR*, 150 E. 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.

Sign Up. Become a Town Hall member now: to sign up (and to take a free tour of Town Hall) by modem dial 800-648-6964, or call 800-441-4142.

Published as a service to NR *readers by Town Hall, Inc.*

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 C	2 N	3 G	4 Q	5 V	6 B	■	7 R	8 K	9 J	10 N	11 O	12 E	13 C	■	14 M	15 Y	■	16 I	17 U	■	18 V
19 T	20 D	21 J	22 G	23 L	24 S	■	25 B	26 C	27 A	28 K	■	29 O	30 W	31 I	32 G	■	33 V	34 H	35 D	36 Y	37 P
38 E	39 A	40 J	41 M	■	42 R	43 F	44 N	45 S	46 G	47 C	48 H	49 K	50 X	51 L	52 I	53 M	■	54 T	55 O	56 F	■
57 Q	58 P	59 K	60 B	61 V	62 N	63 H	64 E	65 W	66 T	67 A	■	68 S	69 Q	70 O	71 Y	72 B	73 F	74 H	75 M	76 J	77 G
78 I	79 P	80 C	81 D	■	82 U	83 Y	84 F	■	85 C	86 L	87 M	88 S	89 G	90 J	91 D	■	92 R	93 A	94 F	95 G	96 E
97 L	■	98 Q	99 U	100O	101A	102G	103K	104P	■	105C	106F	107B	108W	■	109J	110D	111R	112N	■	113F	114K
115V	116N	117Q	■	118T	119V	120H	121S	122I	123E	124P	125K	126L	127A	■	128I	129T	130M	■	131J	132B	133D
134C	135Q	136Y	137W	138E	139H	■	140V	141I	142M	143H	144C	145N	146X	147A	148G	149R	150K	151W	152J	■	153P
154C	155H	156F	157L	158U	159S	160R	■	161U	162Q	163J	■	164Y	165G	166O	167L	168C	169B	170J	171I	172E	173M
■	174V	175Q	■	176O	177D	178N	■	179G	180Y	181K	182D	183T	184E	■	185P	186V	■	187T	188G	189Q	■
190D	191F	192X	■	193G	194V	195X	196S	197A	198O	199N	200B	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

DEFINITIONS

A.	Revolution, for a dervish	127 67 27 93 197 39 101 147
B.	Motown icemen	107 132 169 25 60 200 6 72
C.	*Sorceress*	26 168 47 105 134 80 1 85 154 144 13
D.	Casper's address (2 words)	81 177 110 91 182 190 20 133 35
E.	Shop owner (2 words)	184 96 64 172 38 123 138 12
F.	Parachutist's direction	84 156 43 73 191 113 106 94 56
G.	State of free indulgence	32 102 3 46 89 22 188 77 179 95 165 148 193
H.	Comic's medicine	120 63 34 139 155 48 143 74
I.	Bother	31 141 122 16 78 128 171 52
J.	Massachusetts seaport (2 words)	40 152 109 76 170 163 21 9 131 90
K.	Mumbo-jumbo	103 49 59 150 28 8 125 181 114
L.	Obvious	167 157 51 97 86 126 23
M.	Route along the top (2 words)	142 75 130 41 173 87 14 53
N.	Hermetically sealed	116 178 2 112 145 62 44 199 10
O.	Fearless, in the water	198 55 176 100 29 166 11 70
P.	Princess Di, e.g.	153 58 79 124 185 37 104
Q.	Amuse	117 162 189 69 135 98 57 4 175
R.	A noted Jack's monicker	160 149 7 42 92 111
S.	Stirred	88 68 159 196 24 121 45
T.	Lamp's ancestor	66 54 129 118 183 19 187
U.	Religion	17 161 158 82 99
V.	The other side	174 18 33 119 186 140 61 115 194 5
W.	Furious	151 137 30 65 108
X.	Cupid's field	195 146 50 192
Y.	A Jewish tongue	180 36 164 136 71 15 83

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 52 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunities

POSSIBLE $500 WEEKLY working from home. Send business-sized SASE to: Angelwing Enterprises-NR1, 3400 West 111th Street, Suite 303, Chicago Ill. 60655.

BECOME A real-estate appraiser. Home study. Earn professional designation. Free literature. 800-362-7070. Dept. RC173.

ROCKY MOUNTAINS—COTTAGE RESORT. 12,000 feet under roof with stream and large country home. $1.2 mil. DDC, P. O. Box 844, Ruidoso, N.M. 88345.

Real Estate

HISTORIC FREDERICKSBURG, Va. Walk to D.C. commuter train (and private schools, park, Civil War battlefield) from in-town charmer. 5 bedrooms, 2 baths, 2 kitchens, 2 porches, FP, all HW floors—a real family home. $144,500. Call 703-899-1784.

Income Property Investigation

CASH FLOW. What it should be. Improvement specification or execution. Since 1980. OnSite Realty Analysis, Inc. 201-592-0090 (or Fort Lee, N.J. 07024-0009).

Educational Opportunities

MORTON BLACKWELL trains thousands of politically successful conservative activists. He can train you, too. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

SPEAK SPANISH, FRENCH, or any of 59 languages as diplomats do, using same U.S. State Department easy self-study cassettes/textbook. Up to 50% savings! Call for free catalogue, Audio Language Institute, 800-722-6394.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

RICHARD TRECCHIA:

Detroit

The true cause of the difficulties we face in the automobile industry in America was the inability of an industry to change to meet worldwide competition and to modify and enhance its products to meet that competition.

BECOME A PARALEGAL. Work with attorneys. Lawyer-instructed home study. Free catalogue, 800-362-7070. Dept. LC173.

LIBERAL CAMPUS NEWSPAPER? Do something about it! Leadership Institute's Student Publications School trains many students to run alternative papers. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

Clinical Services

SPASMODIC TORTICOLLIS recovery clinic. 3716 Old Santa Fe Trail, Santa Fe, N.M. 87505.

Personal

RUSSIA, SCANDINAVIA, Great Britain, Poland, etc. Worldwide correspondence between professional men, women seeking friendship, marriage. Scanna Int'l (Since 1980), P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 800-677-3170.

PENFRIENDS, ENGLAND–U.S.A. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, P. O. Box 82295NR, Phoenix, Ariz. 85071.

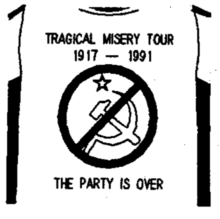
JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! Inter-Pacific, P. O. Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

For Sale

BLACK BEAUTIES! Clocks from original Victrola records. SASE for free brochure: Thorncliff Gifts, P. O. Box 549B, Kimberton, Pa. 19442.

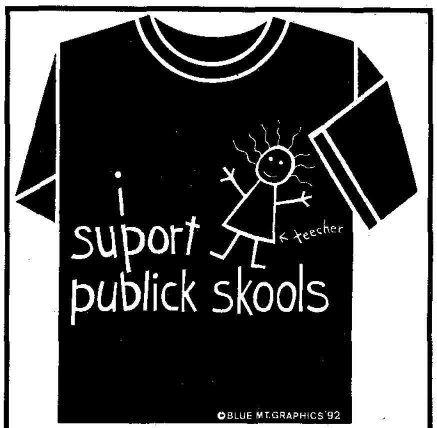
CLASSICAL COMPACT DISCS $6.50! Direct from importer. Send $1 for catalogue. Mark Allen Import, P. O. Box 370615-NR, West Hartford, Conn. 06137.



100% cotton white T-shirts. Design: Black & Red. By Russian designer. Made in Berkeley, California. $11.95 + $3 p/h (add 7.75% in Calif.). 3-4 weeks. Check/m.o. to: Alexander, P. O. Box 2216, Fairfield, Calif. 94533. Specify size.

NATIONAL REVIEW's canvas tote bag on sale now. Tote around town with *National Review*'s lightweight canvas bag. Great for books. Be identified with *National Review* "For All the Right Reasons." Send $9.95 plus $2 (postage/handling) to: *National Review*, Dept. C/Tote, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

U.S. FLAGS—sewn stripes, heavy outdoor nylon. 3′ × 5′ regularly $30, *National Review* special, $20. Other sizes available. 800-441-FLAG.



WHITE PRINT ON NAVY Tee or KELLY GR. PRINT ON WHITE Tee

$14.95ea. (Includes P&H in U.S.A.)
- XXL add $1.00 ; Discounts on quantities

TO ORDER CALL:
1-800-422-6067
OR SEND CHECK TO:
Blue Mountain Graphics
125 Liberty St., Allentown, PA 18102

Professional Services

BUYING OR SELLING a specialty car? Call or write AutoMatch InterNational, P. O. Box 594, East Bridgewater, Mass. 02333. 508-378-8982.

TAX SPECIALIST. Daniel O'Connell, CPA., Upper Montclair, N.J. 201-509-0075.

SELL YOUR company *now*, before low capital-gains rates disappear. Former international merger/acquisition president personally handles. Gary Douglas. 714-650-6785.

ART DIRECTOR with Macintosh. Conservatives—$55 per hour. Republicans—$65. Liberals—$75. 212-861-4496.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $3.00 per word with 10-word minimum. Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Frequency Discounts: 4 insertions, $2.75 per word; 6 insertions, $2.50 per word; 8 or more insertions, $2.25 per word; every issue in one year, $2 per word.

NR Box Numbers: Available for an additional $10. Responses will be forwarded by 1st-class mail. Address responses: c/o Tony Savage, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Display Ads: 1 column inch, $125; 2 column inches, $250; 3 column inches, $350. Frequency discounts available on request. Trim sizes are 1, 2, or 3 inches high, 2¼ inches wide. Camera-ready art must be provided. These rates apply to the Classified section only.

Restrictions: NR does not accept political advertisements. NR may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason.

To Order: Full payment in advance is required, by either check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa (for credit cards, include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, Classified Advertising, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

"I GROW OLD learning something new every day."—Solon. Fuller and D'Angelo, P.C., Architects & Planners, 595 West Hartsdale Avenue, White Plains, N.Y. 10607-1894.

Situations Wanted

NR TRANS-O-GRAM creator, Kem Putney, seeks challenging new position with the "right organization," here or abroad. Experience and talents include: management, writing/editing, marketing/advertising, public relations, computer fluency, organization, and creativity. Ready to relocate if necessary. Respond to: NR Box 2096.

Literary

Are you a CONSERVATIVE LIBERAL or a LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE?

Try ***The Populist,*** new quarterly political newsletter. Lively blend of progressive and reactionary views: progressive in economics, culturally in tune with middle America. Inaugural issue will include interview with iconoclastic political theorist JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN. Annual subscription $35, sample issue $5. The Populist, c/o The Fund for a Populist Majority, Inc., P.O. Box 2073-NR, Savannah, GA 31402.

HOW TO SAVE MONEY on Just about Everything. Widely acclaimed 208-page consumer guide. Satisfaction guaranteed. $12.95 plus $2.75 S&H to: ACG Inc., P. O. Box 475, Laguna Beach, Calif. 92652. Visa/MC 800-345-0096.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRC, 11 West 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P. O. Box 1777NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701.

PUBLISHER OF BOOKS concerning codes and ciphers, secret writing, etc. Aegean Park Press, P. O. Box 2837, Laguna Hills, Calif. 92654. 800-736-3587.

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

Miscellaneous

SEEKING TO ESTABLISH an organization with goal to replace American tax system with annual fee and eliminate all other taxes. Interested? SASE to: R. T. Beamon, 122 Amherst Road, Cranston, R.I. 02920.

TOLEDANO

(Continued from page 49)

be in your collection. On these twenty cuts, moreover, she is well served by the beautiful obbligato of Billy Butterfield's horn. The songs she sings are nostalgia-laden—"As Time Goes By," "A Hundred Years From Today," "East of the Sun," and others. We can only hope for the rest of her output.

■ *Glenn Miller: A Legendary Performer*, and *Glenn Miller: Chattanooga Choo-Choo* (BMG/Bluebird 0693-2-RB & 3102-2-RB). Glenn Miller had probably the most danceable of dance bands in the 1930s—smooth, a good beat, but none of the killer-diller or jitter-buggery aspects of the big-band era. His records sold, and he had a large following among collegians and their older siblings. The themes he popularized—like "Chattanooga Choo-Choo," "Moonlight Serenade," and "Pennsylvania 5-600"—went with him when he took his band to war, and his death in the service added to the legend. There is much duplicating in these two albums, but each of them recreates the Miller mood and mode.

■ *Tommy Dorsey and His Clambake Seven: The Music Goes Round and Round* (BMG/Bluebird 3140-2-RB). Like Glenn Miller, Tommy Dorsey sentimentalized and watered down the jazz elements in his style. But his technique on the trombone was superlative—"He almost makes it sound like a violin," one jazz musician said to me at the time—and he had some very fine sidemen: Bud Freeman, Max Kaminsky, and the greatest of all white jazz drummers, Dave Tough. The Clambake Seven was a small group out of his big band, rooted in the jazz tradition, and they made real music out of the pop tunes of the late 1930s. This record is not going to crowd the titans off the shelf, but it does bring back a now forgotten tune, "The Music Goes Round," which moved out of 52nd Street, NYC, and helped introduce the swing era by its slightly zany push and lyrics.

■ *Bennie Moten's Kansas City Orchestra: South (1926–1929)* (BMG/Bluebird 3139-2-RB). It was Count Basie, with a large assist from the never fully appreciated Moten band, that brought Kansas City–style big-band jazz to New York and then to the rest of the country. The Count Basie Orchestra's style and drive was fathered by the Bennie Moten band of the 1920s and 1930s and the sidemen who became famous under the Basie aegis. In its various configurations, the Moten band, though well known among jazz musicians and aficionados, was never recorded at its best—and the sides in this album do not match some of the other recorded output. But it should be a revelation to those who believe that big-band swing sprang fully helmeted in the person of Benny Goodman from the brain of arranger Fletcher Henderson. Those who heard it in Kansas City told me years ago that it was a powerful and swinging aggregation, but this comes through only to a small degree in these 24 cuts.

■ *Marcus Roberts: Prayer for Peace* (BMG/Novus 63124-2). Of today's vintage are these evocations of old and new Christmas songs by Marcus Roberts, a jazz pianist of eclectic style—engaging and in excellent taste but not yet gripping. Here you will find a full gamut from "Silent Night" to "White Christmas," tastefully played, with an addition of "Auld Lang Syne" for New Year's Eve roisterers.

■ *Benny Goodman: The Birth of Swing 1935–1936* (BMG/Bluebird 61038-2). For many in the mid-Thirties, swing music began to go round and round with Benny Goodman and his orchestra. He not only had superlative arrangements, many of them by Fletcher Henderson, but he also had among his sidemen some of the best white jazz musicians—Bunny Berigan, Jack Teagarden, Jess Stacy, and that exhibitionist but excellent drummer Gene Krupa. (One of Krupa's great lines, after the Carnegie Hall jazz concert of 1938: "There I was on drums, spitting out my gum where Toscanini walked the night before.") Goodman quickly became known as the "King of Swing," and his vocalist, the ineffable Helen Ward, achieved a degree of jazz nobility with him.

BMG has been steadily putting on CD its historic jazz catalogue, which originally appeared on the Victor and Bluebird labels. It has now issued a three-disc album of 67 sides (plus four second takes) cut by the early Goodman band. Since the 78s could only give you about three minutes of music, Goodman's clarinet tends to hog most of the attention. But you can hear solos by sidemen often enough to recall how exciting Goodman & Co. were on the bandstand. □

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Pat Buchanan v. Skull & Bones

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 12

Everybody is familiar with Pat Buchanan's domestic program, which is good right-wing supply-side orthodoxy. What is not crystal clear is what changes he desires in foreign policy. We know he wishes U.S. retrenchment from foreign commitments, that he is distrustful of free trade (though he avoids the invocation of tariffs), and that he desires stricter measures to regulate illegal immigration. What adds a certain inscrutability is Mr. Buchanan's insistence on referring to "George Bush's Skull & Bones foreign policy." I have heard him use that term several times on television, and have read it half a dozen times, but I have never heard or read any answer by him to the question, Just what *is* a Skull & Bones foreign policy?

Skull & Bones is a senior society at Yale University founded in 1832. It admits 15 select juniors every spring (most recently, Skull & Bones began admitting women), one of whom, in 1948, was George Bush. Beyond the fact of the yearly election, not very much is known about the society because its proceedings are conducted in secret. It is however correctly deduced that fraternal ties made during a senior's active life in the society tend to be lasting.

Now that being all that Mr. Buchanan knows about Skull & Bones, we are entitled to ask, What is it that constitutes a "Skull & Bones foreign policy"?

Does he mean to suggest an elitist foreign policy, on the grounds that S&B is known to be highly selective in its choice of members? If so, then, what *is* an elitist foreign policy? Is it a foreign policy that does not encourage mucking about in the Third World? That would hardly apply to George Bush, who has certainly mucked about in places like Panama and, of course, Kuwait, not a culture one associates with, oh, the Racquet Club.

Does he mean a foreign policy in which only the elite are selected to run the Foreign Service? The trouble with that generality is that the Foreign Service has always sought to attract the most gifted and learned applicants, whence the Foreign Service Exam. Does Mr. Buchanan mean that a Skull & Bones foreign policy would enlist only graduates of exclusive prep schools to implement that policy? But if he means that, he has not paid very much attention to the background of students who are elected to Skull & Bones, who are manifestly chosen along meritocratic lines, having to do with achievement or character.

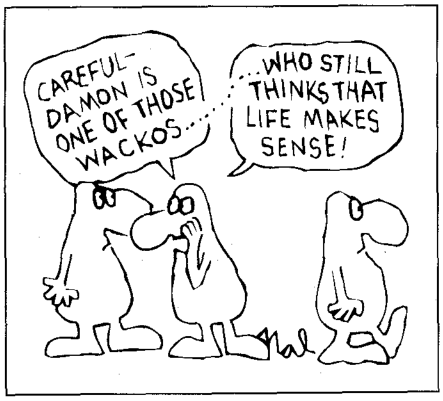
Is he seeking to make a distinction having to do with rank or prestige? Would he contrast a "Skull & Bones foreign policy" with a "Scroll & Key foreign policy"? (Scroll & Key is another of the half-dozen senior societies, ranking second in prestige.)

Or is he reasoning inductively, from the kind of foreign policy backed by famous graduates of Yale to a generic policy plausibly attributed to S&B?

Well, let's see. Averell Harriman is thought of as an internationalist, as are Robert Lovett and Henry Stimson. They early on favored aid to Great Britain when it was besieged by Hitler, and after that they favored the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. On the other hand, Senator Robert Taft, the most prominent political conservative of his generation, opposed all of these, yes, even NATO. Of the four men listed, the most prominent by far was Taft; so can Mr. Buchanan be suggesting that he doesn't want an isolationist foreign policy? But that would contradict most of his public utterances, which, in their emphasis on America First, echo Skull & Bonesman Robert Alphonso Taft.

There are prominent living Bonesmen the coordinates of whose foreign policies aren't easily given. McGeorge Bundy was an influential aide to President Johnson, later a dove on Vietnam, later still a signer of the no-first-nuclear-strike manifesto, and sometime president of the Ford Foundation. Does Mr. Buchanan have him in mind? But George Bush was *not* a dove on Vietnam, nor did he favor a no-first-strike pledge. Senator John Chafee? But his foreign-policy position is not something whose cogency hits you in the face with the magnitude of a planet at night. As much can be said of the foreign policy of Senator John Kerry, whatever that is, other than opposition to the Vietnam War Pat Buchanan so lustily approved of as an aide to President Nixon.

So what is Pat talking about? One deduces, sadly, that he is simply here engaged in one of those meaningless slurs the design of which is to disparage an affiliation of George Bush . . . because? Because it is an affiliation of George Bush. If there is a better reason for it, he should give that reason. ☐


CAREFUL– DAMON IS ONE OF THOSE WACKOS...
...WHO STILL THINKS THAT LIFE MAKES SENSE!
Mal

© 1992 Mal Ent., Inc.

His Supreme Preppiness?

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 14

When presidential-primary season sets in, the least abnormality, or the most sensationalizable normality, becomes the focus of the Procrustean imperative. But surely the treatment given to George Bush because he was surprised by something called a "bar code" scanner takes the cake. I have specifically in mind Mr. Jonathan Yardley of the *Washington Post* Book World, who wrote a column reprinted in the *International Herald Tribune* under the headline, "His Supreme Preppiness/Stoops to Do Groceries." It will win any prize for the year's most fatuous venture in snobbish anti-snobbery.

To begin with, Mr. Yardley takes off on Mr. Bush's full name: George Herbert Walker Bush. He is so taken by this exercise that he does it twice, calling him "George Algernon Fortesque Leffingwell Bush" and then "George Taliaferro Belmont Cabot Bush." Now, George Bush did not name himself, his parents named him. Moreover, I see no reason for assuming that parents who give their child three given names are putting on airs—much more likely, they are seeking to please multiple aunts, uncles, and in-laws. I have a sister whose first names are: Mary Margaret Priscilla Langford.

So? So what. I don't know whether Mr. Yardley has more names than he customarily uses. I do know that George Bush is known as George Bush, or, when he signs documents, as George H. Bush. To read snobbery into the long form of his name suggests kindergarten training in Class Resentments.

Speaking of which there is the "His Supreme Preppiness." Are we really disposed to designate all graduates of Andover as Supreme Preppies? My eyes and ears are moderately well trained, and I couldn't tell a graduate of Andover from a graduate of Scarsdale High School, though that isn't true of Groton, which seems to implant an accent that is pretty distinctive: Would Mr. Yardley refer to Franklin Delano Roosevelt as an obvious preppie?

But what choked up Mr. Yardley, or rather, unhappily did not choke him up, was The Episode. George Bush went to a convention of the National Grocers Association and saw, evidently for the first time, the means by which a can of tomatoes flashes its electronic fingerprint to the cash register. George Herbert Walker Bush expressed a quite elated surprise over this technological accomplishment. Mr. Jonathan Can-it-be-true! Strike-me-dead-if-it-is! Yardley is so indignant he cannot, verily, stand it. "The man who runs the United States of America confessed, however indirectly, that he's so out of touch with the daily lives of his constituents, he doesn't even know how they go about buying the food they put on their tables."

George Bush "comes from and is utterly a part of a world in which the supermarket is where the servants go." That is the statement of a true populist snob. Just to begin with, does anyone suspect that FDR did his own shopping? Or Averell Harriman? Or Nelson Rockefeller? Or Andrew Carnegie? Or, for that matter, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who never even bothered to keep money in his pocket because there was always someone there to pay for it; besides which, he most often got it free. Yet these gentlemen are securely situated in history as true advocates of the people. If there was a populist breeze in the air, Nelson Rockefeller would rustle.

What is the point in putting on airs, pretending to do what in fact one doesn't incline to do? Herbert Hoover, that austere intellectual, used to play canasta four hours every Sunday. So? So he liked to play canasta. I have never seen a professional baseball game, or an episode of *Dallas*—or of *Roseanne* or of *Geraldo* or of the black lady who is alternately fat and thin, I forget her name. So? So I waste my time and take my pleasures in other ways. Does that make me ignorant of human anxieties, problems, vexations? Such a person as George Bush "should not be relied upon to have an especially acute sense of what life is like for someone squirreling away $50 a month under the illusion that this will pay for his child's college education or his family's protection against catastrophic illness." What c-r-a-p. The biggest bleeding heart in Great Britain is the Prince of Wales, and if he ever entered a grocery store, it was given to him under a Christmas tree. By the criteria of Mr. Yardley, Edward Gibbon shouldn't have written about Rome, so removed was he from Roman life. After all, he was born 1,300 years after Rome fell. ☐

Score One for Buchanan

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 10

Pat Buchanan is taking a bum rap on the matter of the Zulus and the Brits. What he said, more than one month ago, was that however glorious America's record as a melting pot of immigrants, certain things seem as obvious as that acculturation would be easier to handle if a million English dropped into Virginia than if a million Zulus landed there. This statement has been regularly denounced as bigoted, ethnocentric, unfeeling, insensitive, and boorish.

And that is ideology, high-style. Because attitudinizing about immigration is one of those high-flown vanities that prevent us from confronting realities. Here is a reasoned analysis of Mr. Buchanan's point:

1. The United States is king of the acculturating powers.

2. This does not mean the United States can transform any number of foreigners into Americans at any time.

3. A certain amount of national energy is needed to teach a foreigner American folkways and mores. There are the matters of language, literacy, government, and religion. The British speak English; they come in from a country which is governed by the mother of parliaments; they are by and large Christians, or at least exposed to Christian culture, and they are white skinned.

Most Zulus speak no English and know nothing of democracy, and Zulus are black skinned. It takes a generation or so to teach incoming foreigners the language, that or more to habituate those not already habituated to the idea of majority rule, minority rights. We may hope that one generation from now, after a million Zulus were acculturated to the United States, the color problem would have disappeared. But it has not yet disappeared. It was a generation ago that Martin Luther King spoke of his dreams of an America in which skin color had evanesced. Yet there is probably a hardier separatism today than back in 1963, as witness the all-black dormitories in so many of our colleges.

Moreover, we run into a special problem if the influx of a minority is on such a scale as to interfere with the principal engine of acculturation, which is the English language. The reason everyone who was a Central European Jew or an Italian or a German now speaks English is that immigrants were given no alternatives. But lo! that changed with massive Hispanic immigration after the war. Robert Kennedy, seeking favor with Puerto Ricans in New York City, lobbied for and got a law that permitted the Spanish language to be used to test one's literacy before being given the right to vote. The next step was to abolish literacy tests. And the step after that is called bilingual education, which adds up to, in some parts of Southern and Southwestern America, teaching in the Spanish language to the exclusion of teaching in English. It is not inconceivable that the grandchildren of some Hispanics currently at school in California, Arizona, Texas, and Florida will be speaking only in Spanish. What causes this to happen? Political pressure. There are enough congressmen for sale on this issue.

Now if a million Zulus were to come on over and demand to be taught in Zulu we would face a real demand–supply problem. We take it for granted that a million Zulus would not in their disappointment do to us what they did in 1879 at Isandhlwana, which was to express their resentment of the English by killing 806 Europeans and 471 Africans in a single engagement. No no, Pat Buchanan wasn't talking about a million Zulu warriors coming to America to make war—though who knows, if they heard a speech by Tom Harkin, they might decide to eat him.

Buchanan has enough problems without trying to have him up for talking about what the United States should reasonably think about in writing immigration law, namely the relative acculturability of immigrants. We have plenty of room for a million Zulus, but that isn't the same as saying that they would be as easy as a million Englishmen. ☐

(Universal Press Syndicate)

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

The High-Strung Class

IN ALL the incessant babble about the suddenly noble "middle class," no one has mentioned the subdivision of it that has done so much to wreck America: the High-Strung Class.

Mind you, I'm "high strung" in the lower-case sense. All writers are, so are all artists and musicians, but we have an excuse: we're *supposed* to have sensitive nerves. If we didn't, we couldn't do what we do. Known as "creativity" or "artistic temperament," it has ever been the despair of those foolish enough to fall in love with us and demand our undivided attention. We may hurt those closest to us, but we don't hurt the whole country, and in the final analysis we give more than we take.

The High-Strung Class is something else altogether. It is composed of thin-skinned pseudointellectuals who make their living second-guessing people completely different from themselves.

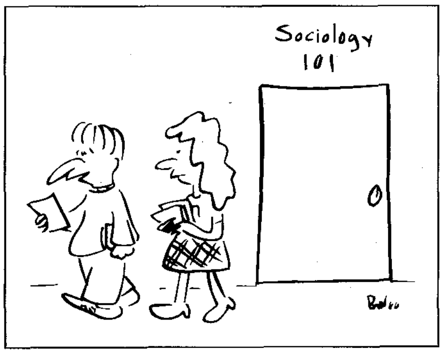
America's leading Strungleur was Henry David Thoreau, who took it for granted that "the mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation" because the mere thought of holding down a steady job set his teeth on edge. Our era produced Betty Friedan, an unhappy Smith graduate who polled other unhappy Smith graduates and concluded that the housewives of America were clamoring to leave their "comfortable concentration camps" for careers.

The High-Strung Class crawled out from under the rocks during the New Deal and never went back. The original Strungleurs often were the first members of their families to go to college; they are now second- and third-generation college graduates, but fear of the lunch bucket and the time clock dies hard. Laboring now as government planners and think-tank philosophers, they have turned "I couldn't stand it" into public policy. By "it" they mean everything they have escaped: factory jobs, housewifery, "overcrowded" homes (i.e., each kid doesn't have his own room), or living, like Dorothy Parker, in shabby residence hotels where even dishes and cutlery are furnished and the management discourages what Strungleurs call "individual touches" and bona-fide intellectuals call "clutter."

Strungleurs are too dense to grasp a simple fact: we who work with our minds could not function without a plodding working class and traditional housewives. These are the people who produce the strong families that make for an orderly society—what Strungleurs call a "productive environment" and I call "peace and quiet."

Because they work in places where "hostile" rivals destroy each other's research notes, Strungleurs are walking spider webs of sensitivity. Unable to conceive of having the kind of job you can forget about after work, they assume that brawny machinists need stress management workshops and transcendental-meditation breaks, too. The "human potential" movement of the Seventies, when companies trained managers to "relate" to employees, placing blissful concepts of selfhood over production schedules, is a typical Strungleur contribution to the economy.

Florence Nightingale had no patience with Victorian England's High-Strung Class, whose passion for improving the lot of the dregs of society she dismissed as "poor-peopling." In this area, our Strungleurs have killed the thing they claim to love by their pursuit of the Pyrrhic victory of social leveling.



"Actually, I prefer the old true/false tests to these politically correct/politically incorrect ones."

High civilization needs seedy poets, artists in garrets, and philosophers who are poor by choice. The intellectual pretensions of the High-Strung Class make them the logical champions of bohemianism, yet the poverty programs they conceive and relentlessly administer have destroyed its natural milieu.

One of life's intriguing paradoxes is that a hierarchical social order makes cheap rents and outré artists' colonies possible. Raffish bohemian neighborhoods flourished in the days of racial segregation; under integration the artistic poor have no safe places in which to create. The urban intellectual enclaves once so hospitable to them are gone with the windy blessings of egalitarian Strungleurs. If America lacks a vigorous culture it is partly because studios and ateliers have become crack houses.

For that matter, we don't even have ivory towers any more. The machinations of the High Strung have turned charming absent-minded professors into politically correct, tenured paranoids with total recall.

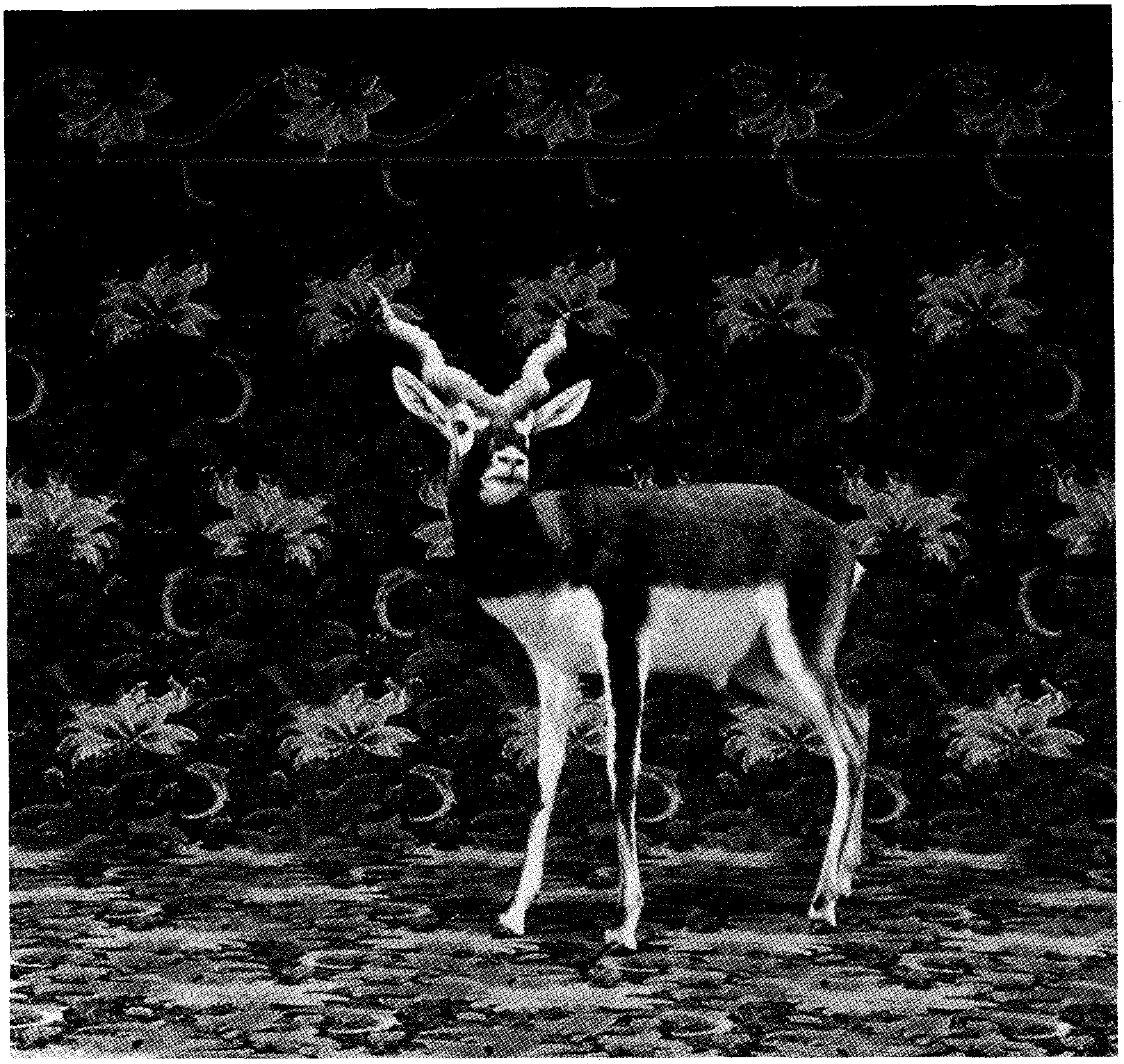
THE MASS of mankind like their lives the way they are and ask only that sensitive thinkers leave them alone. As James Gould Cozzens wrote: "When Thoreau judged that most men lived lives of quiet desperation I think he failed to consider the fact that, by a merciful provision of Providence, most men have little or no more imagination than an animal. Good reasons for despair may be all around the average man, but he won't see them."

That is less cruel than telling women their homes are "comfortable concentration camps" and then "helping" them escape by shredding the social fabric of an entire country in the feminist manner. Less cruel, too, than the incredible statement by labor leader Samuel Gompers, who must have been a closet Strungleur: "The promise of America for the laboring man is the promise of someday no longer having to work with his hands."

—FLORENCE KING

Miss King's With Charity Toward None: A Fond Look at Misanthropy *(St. Martin's), will be published this month.*

MILLIKEN



NATURE DIDN'T SACRIFICE BEAUTY FOR SPEED.

NEITHER DID WE.

The same can be said for endurance. After all, you expect more than beauty from the extraordinary new Milliken Grand Collection. You expect lasting beauty. And that's precisely what you get. In a carpet collection that recalls a time of elegance. With rich, intricate florals. Geometrics. Art deco looks. A collection that is, best of all, there when you need it, because it's part of our Pattern Express shipping program. Simply select from our broad range of designs. And place your order. It will be ready to ship within seven days. That's right. Seven days. Quick, call toll-free, 800-334-7749, for the details. Then let nature take its course.

MILLIKEN HOSPITALITY CARPETS / 201 INDUSTRIAL DRIVE / LAGRANGE, GA 30240 USA / FAX: 404-883-5570 / PHONE: 404-883-5472

ABSOLUT MANHATTAN.

TO SEND A GIFT OF ABSOLUT® VODKA (EXCEPT WHERE PROHIBITED BY LAW) CALL 1-800-243-3787.
PRODUCT OF SWEDEN. 40 AND 50% ALC/VOL (80 AND 100 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. © 1989 CARILLON IMPORTERS, LTD., TEANECK, NJ.